University of Alberta

Music and the Nazi Party Congresses:

Its Role In Spectacle, Festival and Ritual

by

Kathy Carol Reinert

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Music in Musicology

Department of Music

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Abstract

This study examines the role of music in the Nazi Party Congresses in an attempt to discover how the Nazis employed music in practical ways to affect, inspire, and even manipulate the German people.

The Congresses are examined as a complex cultural performance system in which metaphorical frames surround individual components of the system: living spectacle, performance spectacle, festival and ritual.

The frames distinguish between certain cultural performances at the Nazi Congresses in Nuremberg, provide a means to determine music's role in those performances, note the behavior of the participants and spectators, and discover relationships between the frames to better understand the system as a whole.

Music is a unifying element in the Congress performance system because it transcended the frame boundaries, unifying the whole system around the *Volk*. Just as the *Volk* represented the German people past and present, their common history, race and heritage, music also became part of this identity in the context created by the Nazis at the Congresses.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The National Socialist Party of Germany held very successful large scale political meetings known as *Reichsparteitage* (Party Days) in Nuremberg between 1927 and 1938. These Congresses were carefully planned and orchestrated. They were used as tools to extend Nazi ideology and political liturgy to a great number of people at one time. Part of the Nazis' success in this regard is owing to their use of a strong German musical heritage to impress, inspire, entertain and unite their supporters. What follows is my investigation of music's role in the Nazi Congresses.

At the Nazi Party Congresses in Nuremberg, masses of people saluted Adolf Hitler and pledged their allegiance to the *Führer*. Thousands cheered and waved flags as Hitler passed by in an open automobile. At the rallies, strictly ordered columns of people stood perfectly straight and still, listening to the words of their leader. To the beat of military music, endless streams of flags bearing the swastika were marched ceremoniously in carefully choreographed patterns. Some rallies were carried out in darkness. Electrical lights focused on the platform where huge flags were draped to set the stage for Hitler's address to the people.

Foreign press agents were invited and hosted by the Reich in significant numbers. Indeed, by 1938, the Congresses became one of the most important annual political events for the foreign press in the world. Hitler's speeches were often translated and printed in foreign newspapers or supplements. His final speech of the 1938 Congress was translated and printed in its entirety in Holland, Denmark, Finland, Brazil, Argentina and the United States among others.[1] In the United States alone, "more than one hundred radio stations either carried the speech directly or broadcast translations of it. Wall Street was completely at a standstill shortly before closing time; the market prices could not be heard over the sound of the radio."[2] Owing to the widespread media coverage of the Nazi Congresses and the broadcasting of Hitler's words, the Nazi demonstration of German political and military might was all the more powerful and far-reaching. The coverage of the Congress by the foreign press provided widespread publicity for the German state and its coming of age as a world power.

Nuremberg hosted an enormous influx of people during a Congress. Dozens of chartered trains arrived every day from all parts of Germany. During the last Congresses the number of visitors reached over one million. Accommodation and meals were organized and prepared in advance and tent cities sprang up to accommodate large groups such as the Storm Troopers, Hitler Youth and the Army.

John Baker White was an Englishman invited to the 1937 Congress by the Nazis. In his account of traveling from England to Nuremberg, he commends the detailed planning of the Congress in Dover-Nürnberg Return:

All restaurants were crowded from morning to night -the amount of beer sold must have sent the brewers into ecstasies of joy - but it speaks well for the commissariat organization that at no time did supplies of food or drink fail. In the week I saw only two men really the worse for liquor. There was very little evidence of profiteering, possibly because the government has the habit of shutting down shops that overcharge. The control of the traffic and crowds by the police was at all times beyond praise.[3]

Officially determined order was evident in every aspect of preparing for a Congress.

From around the country, only certain representatives of the various organizations were chosen to participate in the Congresses. The Hitler Youth participants were chosen specifically for their physical attributes such as blond hair and blue eyes to give the impression to onlookers that members of the Hitler Youth were fine specimens of the Aryan race. Some Workers attended the rallies bare-chested to reveal their tanned and muscular bodies. Only the best girls from choirs or athletic groups were allowed to attend. In keeping with the goal of making as good an impression as possible at the Congresses, only the 'finest' representatives of each faction around the country were displayed at the rallies.[4]

The Nazi Party Congresses at Nuremberg provided an opportunity for Nazi officials to stage large demonstrations of political and military strength for Germany and the rest of the world. They were mass propaganda exercises which the Nazis used to impress both domestic and foreign guests. Specifically, the Congresses provided a showcase for evidence of Germany's recovery from World War I and the Treaty of Versailles. Thus, they became occasions for advertising Nazi ideas and accomplishments. By the mid-1930's the Nazis claimed credit for raising the German people from the hopelessness and poverty caused during the inflation that followed World War I to a largely employed and purposeful nation.

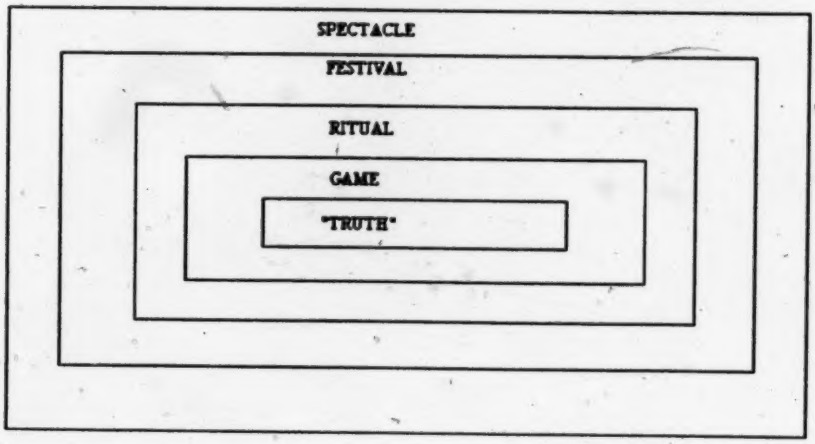
I believe that Nazi Party Congresses were more than an awe inspiring show of political and military strength; they can also be regarded as a complex performance system in which music was a unifying element. In the following pages I analyze the use of music at the Nazi Congresses in Nuremberg and show how it was used as a political tool. The components of the performance system that I examine include the following items: living spectacle, performance spectacle, festival and ritual. Music not only heightened a sense of national unity but became a significant part of each component's form and content. Music was an expressive part of the collective worship of German heritage, the *Volk*, and of Adolf Hitler, the *Führer*, and was an integral part of the political liturgy of National Socialism shown at Nuremberg.

Chapter one includes the method of inquiry and places the components of the performance system within a model of the Congresses. This model serves to organize and direct my investigation. In chapter two I discuss music's role in living spectacle and spectacle performance. Chapter three contains the historical background to the Congresses (including a focus on German national festivals from the nineteenth century) and music's role in the festival. Chapter four is composed of a brief discussion of ritual and its place in the Congresses and music's role in the Nazi rituals and political liturgy which surrounded collective worship of the *Volk*. In chapter five, the relationships among components of the performance system are examined showing that music is a unifying element in the performance system of the Nazi Party Congresses.

METHOD OF INQUIRY

The model for my investigation is derived in part from the work of Victor Turner and from John MacAloon's "Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies." MacAloon examines the Olympic Games from the perspectives of spectacle, festival, ritual and game. He uses metaphorical "frames" to create borders around the kinds of cultural performance that he identifies in relation to the Olympic Games. See figure 1 for a graphical depiction of the relationships between the components. MacAloon illustrates the idea of dividing the complex into its constituent parts, while retaining a means of regarding them in relation to the whole. As the center of the system is approached, the elements grow in intensity and significance to the meaning of the event.

FIGURE 1: MACALOON'S PERFORMANCE SYSTEM OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES



According to Turner, the "frames [represent] the metaphorical borders within which the facts of experience can be viewed, reflected upon, and evaluated."[5] This notion is useful to my discussion of the complex performance system of the Nazi Party Congresses. I chose to use frames to surround the individual components of the system because they create a context and limit the perspective so that I could better determine the role of music within an individual frame. In addition, the model can be viewed from different perspectives. Once the role of music and characteristics of each frame is known, the frames can be regarded in relation to one another as well as to the whole system. The model also supports the notion that a Congress forms "a single performance system…[in which] …the genres are intimately and complexly inter-connected in all levels: historically, ideologically, structurally and performatively."[6] By examining the Congress system through frames, we gain a better understanding of its components while the system as a whole remains intact.

The frames do more than distinguish among the different genres of cultural performance under investigation. They also indicate the type of behavior that can be expected within the boundaries. Within the ritual frame for example, not only are the "statements within this frame [meant to be] true and represent the most serious things, it orders us to expect reverential demeanor from the actors within the frame and to conduct ourselves accordingly," depending upon the actual performance and its socio-cultural context.[7]

For my purposes therefore, the frames distinguish between certain cultural performances at the Nazi Congresses in Nuremberg, provide a means to determine music's role in those performances, note the behavior of the participants and

spectators, and discover relationships between the frames to better understand the system as a whole. My model for the Nazi Party Congresses can be found in figure 2.

FIGURE 2: CULTURAL PERFORMANCE SYSTEM OF THE NAZI PARTY CONGRESSES

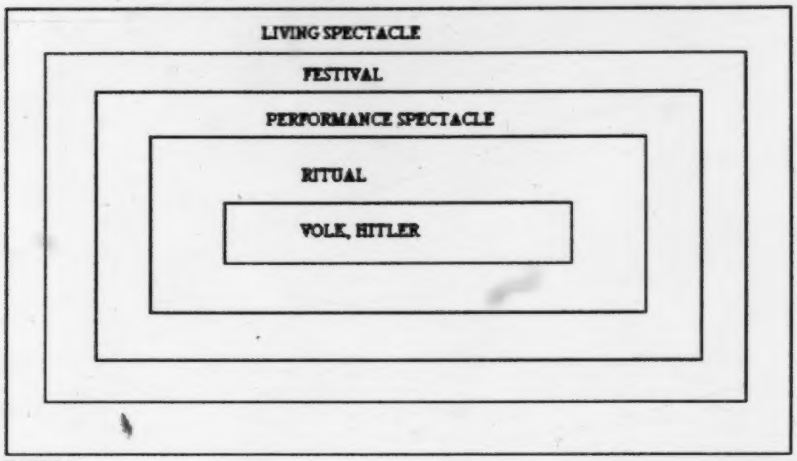


FIGURE 2

The main differences from MacAloon's diagram of the Olympic model are the placement of spectacle in two frames and the absence of Game. While it is true that sport was present at the Nazi Congresses in the form of shooting exhibitions and gymnastic exercises, I do not include Game because I feel that music's role is more significant in spectacle, festival and ritual. I place spectacle in two different frames because I believe that MacAloon does not satisfactorily account for both the pre-planned and spontaneous aspects of spectacle. Therefore I describe the nature of spectacle with two more precise definitions: living spectacle and performance spectacle. I place the festival frame between the two descriptions of spectacle because

I feel that there is a relationship between living spectacle and festival and likewise between performance spectacle and ritual. Their placement in the system reflects these relationships, which are revealed in chapter five. The *Volk* is placed in the center of the system to represent the German people and *Volk*-worship in the National Socialist context. Hitler is placed in the center because, as the *Führer*, he was the leader of the *Volk*.

DEFINITIONS:

SPECTACLE:

According to MacAloon, the word spectacle comes from the Latin *specere* "to look at," and from the Indo-European word *spek* "to observe." The dictionary defines spectacle as "something exhibited...a remarkable or noteworthy sight...public displays appealing or intending to appeal to the eye by their mass proportions, color, or other dramatic qualities."[8] Spectacles depend on the power of visual effects and need to be seen to be appreciated. In addition, spectacles rely on the roles of participants and spectators to be successful. A spectacle "is a dynamic form, demanding movement, action, change and exchange on the part of the human actors who are on center stage, and the spectators must be excited in turn."[9] The cultural performance genre of spectacle has not been widely studied by anthropologists.[10] We will see that music provides a primary means of achieving the effects of spectacle.

Aside from the methodological usefulness of MacAloon's model, I have some reservations about his application of it to his case study. MacAloon notes that one of the underlying components of spectacle is some measure of spontaneity:

"spectacles tend to be irregular, occasional, open-ended, even spontaneous..."[11] However, MacAloon does not pursue either the role of spontaneity in relation to spectacle or the role of prior planning in the execution and meaning of spectacle. He implies that spectacle surrounds the whole of the Olympics in the same way and to the same extent. It seems to me however, that two features of spectacle are at work in the Nazi Congresses. I have named them *living spectacle* and *performance spectacle*. Both retain the qualities of spectacle noted above, but in different ways.

Living spectacle refers to the broad, overall spectacle created by a large-scale event in a non-choreographed setting, where spontaneity on the part of actors and audience is present. The spectacle connects the people to the event by visually creating excitement, anticipation and a sense of community. A contemporary example of the living spectacle is created annually in Times Square in New York on New Year's Eve.

In the Congress context, the living spectacle was created by the people in general. While the Party certainly assisted in preparations for the Congresses (they supplied flags and banners to hang from buildings and in shops and businesses), the existence of living spectacle was not completely controlled by the Party. During a Nazi Congress, the whole city of Nuremberg became a living spectacle. The people decorated their homes with flowers and prepared for the event. Thousands of visitors milled about the streets creating a colorful sight. Many wore uniforms or traditional costumes. Street vendors and souvenir stands dotted the city. Apart from official Congress delegates who were required to be in certain places at certain times, the

general public moved without restriction in the city. John Baker White gives his impression from attending the 1937 Congress:

> To say, as did the correspondent of a Right Wing British daily paper, that "the gates of the city were closed to strangers without permits" is just nonsense. We moved freely in and out of the city, as did everyone else, without permits of any kind, the only restriction being over traffic, which was necessary owing to the huge crowds. All through the Congress parties were arriving by train and motor coach from all parts of Germany and tickets were sold freely in the streets without question as to the credentials of the purchasers.[12]

This account suggest the actions of the people in this setting were not overtly staged.

Performance spectacle, in contrast, describes a large scale performance in which every detail is choreographed and planned in advance. The purpose of performance spectacle is to create a sense of awe in the spectator. A contemporary example is the half time show at the Super Bowl or the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics. At the Congresses, the performance spectacle was most evident at the rallies and parades. In these contexts, spontaneity is less evident than in living spectacle, even lacking altogether. The rallies and parades were organized down to the last detail and were obviously staged: they were performances that became spectacles. In order to create the desired visual effects, participants drilled and practiced for several months during the year before coming together at the Congress. Every detail was officially determined. Burden cites an organization plan of the rallies from the Nuremberg Archives that details a march-past:

> The distance between the men was to be 114 cm. The left hand of the marcher was to be placed on the belt buckle; the thumb was to be inside, behind the buckle and the other fingers slightly bent, with the finger ends at the right edge of the buckle. The timing for the hundreds of bands to begin to play was also detailed along with the exact order in which the huge parade was to disband after each formation had passed Hitler.[13]

The detailed organization of the performance spectacle suggests that the event was consciously manipulated and intended to incite spectators to believe in the Nazi cause.

FESTIVAL:

The word festival is derived from the Latin *festivus* meaning "gay, merry, light-hearted and from the noun *festum*," meaning"festival" or "festival time." The dictionary definition is "a time of celebration marked by special observances...a program of public festivity."[14] In the festival context of the Nazi Congresses, we will find that music's role falls into four main categories: functional, occasional, participatory and entertainment. Functional music accompanied aspects of form in a festival such as reveille and last post; entertainment music created a festive atmosphere and contributed to the celebration; occasional music was composed specifically for a particular event; participatory music involved active participation by the people such as collective singing.

RITUAL

As Turner has pointed out, there are three modes of experience in the ritual setting: the pre-liminal, the process of setting oneself apart from daily cares and routines, secondly, the liminal state, the process of experiencing the ritual and lastly, post-liminal, rejoining everyday life, having been changed on some level (like a rite of passage) as a result of having experienced the ritual. As we shall see, music was a functional part of all three phases associated with ritual in the Nazi Congresses.

VOLK AND HITLER

The center frame of my model is "truth" as reflected in the context of Nazi Germany. The "truth" is discovered by examining how the different components of the performance system work together to define the relationship among the people involved in experiencing the system. To Germans in the 1930's, the center of the Nazi Congress performance system (and a major tenet of National Socialism) is the living heritage or relationship among the German people themselves, the *Volk*.

In my opinion, the collective worship of the *Volk* is the central pillar of the Nazi Congress performance system and National Socialism. Several philosophers, such as Herder, Hegel and Fichte, from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries described their notion of *Volk* which finds its way into Nazi Germany. Common threads among their ideas include: the necessity of a common language (German) and its unspoiled nature (that is, relative lack of change by foreign languages); the individual is consistently regarded to be subordinate to the community and according to Hegel (1770-1831), "the individual must be integrated into larger entities (community) and the inter-relationship of individuals can only function within the state which is the highest embodiment of morality."[15]

The *Volk* is the center of my model because it was also central to the ideology of National Socialism. In the words of a German commentator in 1936, "National Socialism has put the people directly into the center of thought, faith and will, of creativity and life. As Reich Minister Frick says, [National Socialism is derived] from the mightiest of all traditions on earth: from the eternity of the people which ever renews itself."[16] According to Hitler in his final address to the Congress of 1935, "the

focal point of all National Socialist thought lies in the living substance which we, according to its historical development call the German *Volk*."[17]

The *Führer* was regarded as a synthesis of the *Volk* and the state:

> ...it was the leader who in his person united state and the *Volk*: he was the living embodiment of the ideology and, through the state, the executor of actions necessary to safeguard the innermost purpose of the race. He was, therefore, both lawmaker and judge. As in all areas of culture, law and justice, state and citizenship, were subjected to a body of thought which desired a total unity.[18]

In this context, Hitler will be represented in the center of my model along with the *Volk*, as in many ways, a goal of the Congresses was to bind him to the *Volk* in the hearts of the German people.

Moreover, the Nazis appealed to the *Volk* as primary evidence of the Germans' alleged superiority over other peoples. Main themes of speeches at the Congresses (and Nazi propaganda in general) encouraged the people to believe in themselves not as individuals but as members of the *Volk*. Posters contained pictures and slogans which depicted ideal images of *Volk*-life, images that were intended to be reproduced in the daily lives of the people. Everywhere, collective veneration, and imitation of and participation in the ideal German way of life was encouraged. Millions of Germans complied and bought into this aspect of Nazi ideology. The peoples' common beliefs facilitated their manipulation by the Nazis: "the Nazi political style...was popular because it was based on a familiar and congenial tradition."[19] The Congresses illustrate how cleverly the Nazis employed traditions and beliefs to empower their movement.

Music not only unified the living spectacle, performance spectacle, festival and ritual components toward the central principle of *Volk* worship, it also unified the

participants at the Congresses. German (*Volk*) music was chosen to be part of the system,

--music the Nazis identified with the spirit of German creativity and patriotism. To better understand music's role in the system of the Nazi Party Congresses, we first need to become familiar with the Congresses themselves. Then we can proceed to discuss how music functioned in context.

SOURCES OF CONGRESS INFORMATION:

Despite their significance to the Third Reich, the Congresses have not received a great deal of scholarly investigation. Records describing the Congresses include official "yearbooks" such as *Reichstagung in Nürnberg, 1933* which provides photographs, details speeches and main events along with activities behind the scenes. An eye-witness account is provided by John Baker White in Dover-Nürnberg Return. The controversial documentary film by Leni Riefensthal, Triumph of the Will, records the Congress of 1934. Hamilton T. Burden gathered information about the Congresses in The Nuremberg Party Rallies 1923-1939 in which he details the daily activities for each Congress using original documents and foreign and domestic newspaper accounts.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CONGRESSES:

The term 'Congress' encompasses many activities which lasted several days including mass meetings or rallies, gymnastic and sharp-shooting exhibitions, folk dancing, music performances, parades, political and army demonstrations, and

widespread celebrations. The term 'rally' refers specifically to the mass meetings of various groups within the Party: the Workers, Storm Troopers, Regional Party Leaders, Women's Groups, Hitler Youth and the Army, Navy and Air Force who met for demonstrations at different times during the Congress.

The first large party gathering took place in Munich from January 27 through January 30, 1923. Twelve meetings were held over three days. The speeches were characterized by themes that were to dominate most subsequent Congresses: fervent nationalism, the "stab-in-the-back" theory[20] of why Germany lost World War I, anti-Semitism and anti-Marxism.

As the Party gathered support and confidence in 1923, it held a second Congress in September. An unsuccessful *Putsch* (or attempted *coup d'état*) followed in November. Hitler was imprisoned, sentenced for five years, and served nine months. During his incarceration he dictated his book *Mein Kampf* to Rudolf Hess (future Deputy *Führer*) and Max Amann.[21] Once released from prison he was restricted from speaking in most areas of Germany except in Weimar, which therefore became the site for the next Congress.

From 1927 on, the Congresses were held in Nuremberg where the Party met in early September for several days. The first mass meeting in Nuremberg was in 1927. There was no Congress in 1928 as the Nazis were beaten badly in the polls, attaining 12 out of 491 seats in the *Reichstag*. Similarly, they did not meet between 1930-1932 during which time they focused on achieving national power.[22] I have focused on the Congresses held in Nuremberg from 1927-1938.

The Congresses emphasized a different theme for each year, their names and locations can be seen in figure 3. Ironically, the 1939 Congress was to be called the Party Day of Peace. The Congress was scheduled to take place from September 2 to 11, 1939. However, the German army crossed the border to Poland on September 1, 1939. Officially, plans had been underway for the 'most magnificent Congress ever,' right up to August 26, when the German news bureau announced its cancellation. Instead, the transportation of participants to the Congress was replaced with that of soldiers and supplies.[23]

FIGURE 3: NAZI PARTY CONGRESSES

Name	Date	Place
First Party Day	Jan. 27-28, 1923	Munich
German Day	Sept. 1923	Nuremberg
Weimar Rally	July 4, 1926	Weimar
Day of Awakening	Aug. 19-21, 1927	Nuremberg
Party Day of Composure	Aug. 2-5, 1929	Nuremberg
Party Day of Victory	Aug 31-Sept. 3, 1933	Nuremberg
Party Day of Unity	Sept. 4-10, 1934	Nuremberg
Party Day of Freedom	Sept. 10-16, 1935	Nuremberg
Party Day of Honor and Freedom	Sept. 8-13, 1936	Nuremberg
Party Day of Labor	Sept. 6-13, 1937	Nuremberg
Party Day of Greater Germany	Sept. 5-12, 1938	Nuremberg
Party Day of Peace	CANCELLED 1939	Nuremberg

The Congresses were staged on a huge scale in Nuremberg. The main locations for the mass meetings included the Congress Hall, Stadium, the Luitpold

arena or field, and an extensive field on the outskirts of Nuremberg, the *Zeppelinweise*.

The Congress Hall was the largest indoor venue for Congress meetings. It was originally an industrial exhibition hall 540 feet long, 150 feet wide and 50 feet high. The seating capacity was around 20,000 with room on the stage for 130 musicians and up to 750 party dignitaries. Seventy-six loudspeakers were placed around the hall. A huge organ was set up behind the speaker's stand with 4,000 pipes ranging up to

forty-eight feet high. The corner-stone for Hitler's pet project, the new Congress Hall, was laid at the 1936 Congress. Its capacity was to be 40,000 and the projected completion was for 1943; construction stopped, however, in late 1942.[24]

Hitler-Youth rallies were held in the Youth Stadium which could also hold many thousands of spectators in grandstands and participants on the field. The Luitpold Arena was the main setting for SA (*Sturmabteilung* or Storm-trooper) and SS (*Schutzstaffel* or Hitler's own security force) demonstrations. Its rally grounds were eventually covered with granite slabs. Three huge towers held flags seventy-eight feet long by eighteen feet wide, grandstands held 50,000 people, and 150,000 participants could be accommodated on the grounds. The War Memorial was on the grounds and the path that led to it was fifty-four feet wide and 720 feet long.[25]

The *Zeppelinweise* was the main setting for the meetings of political leaders and army maneuvers. It was essentially a large field covered with stone surrounded by huge grandstands which could hold 400,000 people. Along the stands stood huge towers with six flagpoles each. One-hundred and thirty huge spot-lights were used to

illuminate the field for night rallies.[26] The lights could consume 40,000 kilowatt hours of electricity in one evening alone and the glow in the sky could be seen as far as Frankfurt[27] (nearly two hundred kilometers away).

Each of these large venues was transformed over the course of the Congresses. More grandstands, larger structures and more stone foundations appeared from one year to the next.

In addition to huge venues for individual meetings and rallies, the Nazi Party leaders required an appropriate background setting for the Congresses. They needed a place that would inspire nostalgia in the people and heighten their sense of nationalism. Nuremberg provided this setting because unlike many German cities, it retained its medieval characteristics and an apparent resistance to outside/foreign influence. Furthermore, Nuremberg had a strong historical heritage to draw upon; it was an important center of Medieval Germany for culture, architecture and fine craftsmanship. The architecture evoked feelings of nostalgia and was a key reason for Nuremberg's selection as the site for the Congress. Its *Altstadt* (or old part of the city) was characterized by "elaborate facades, carved gables, splendidly ornamented Town Hall, and fine wells and doorways."[28] The historical significance and physical symbolism of the Germanic past gave Nuremberg the attributes of an historical monument, attributes which were psychologically vital to promoting nationalism.

As soon as Nuremberg was chosen as the site for the Party Congresses, a huge advertising campaign followed with thousands of pictures of Nuremberg printed in every German magazine and newspaper. "Every aspect of the city was exploited to present the new Nazi theme, the fusion of the past and present as seen in the modern

rallies in historic 'old German' settings. German history itself had provided the Nazis with a magnificent stage."[29]

Parades were given by the various groups who attended the Congresses. As noted above in Burden's example, they were carefully organized. Hitler reviewed the parades near a grandstand which held Party dignitaries while other spectators lined the streets or watched from windows in buildings along the route. Thousands marched in the parades, some of which were four or five hours long. The Nazis purposely used these displays as a political tool to impress and inspire both spectators and participants because the greater the size of the group, the greater the impact on the individual. The giant parades that suggested the power and supremacy of the Reich created a spectacle.

The political meetings had a consistent and repetitive structure including responsorial speeches and collective singing. This structure contributed to the ritual frame and promotion of the National Socialist political liturgy. Specific ceremonies that were central to the Congresses included the Memorial service and Flag Consecration. The structure of the meetings were repeated at the Congresses on a gargantuan scale in comparison with the day-to-day meetings. As a result, they too became spectacles.

The parades and rallies were surrounded by many other activities that could be attended by people of all ages. These included music concerts, folk singing and dancing, fireworks, athletic demonstrations, and sharp-shooting competitions. Many wore native dress from their own region of Germany and took promenades through Nuremberg. Choruses of familiar folk songs could be heard anywhere from the pubs

to the rallies themselves. Athletic demonstrations glorified the Aryan concept of physical beauty and the skill of participants while the sharp-shooting competitions emphasized marksmanship and weaponry expertise. Each activity celebrated the nature of the *Volk* both past and present and while many of these elements contributed to the festive atmosphere of the Congresses, they also offer evidence for the collective worship of *Volk* ideals. The festive nature of *Volk* worship in the Congresses served to disguise the Nazis use of *Volk* worship as a political tool.

Each component of my model is evident in the performance system of the Nazi Congresses. Living spectacle is evident in the general atmosphere in Nuremberg; performance spectacle is illustrated by the rallies and parades; festival is found in celebrations and many recreational activities; ritual is in the form of political meetings, Memorial ceremonies, flag consecrations and the serious undertones of the Congresses. These are discussed in detail in later chapters.

Chapter Two

Living Spectacle and Performance Spectacle Frames of Nazi Party Congresses

As noted in chapter one, I divide spectacle into two types: living spectacle and performance spectacle. While both conform to the basic definition of spectacle: "something exhibited…a remarkable or noteworthy sight…public displays appealing or intending to appeal to the eye by their mass proportions, color, or other dramatic qualities,"[1] each type of spectacle exists under different conditions. In living spectacle, the actions of the actors and spectators are for the most part spontaneous, not pre-planned and choreographed as in performance spectacle. In this chapter, I discuss the role of the crowd in the production of spectacle in the context of the Nazi Congresses. Then music's relation to spectacle in general is determined, followed by a discussion of how music functioned in living spectacle and performance spectacle in the context of the Nazi Party Congresses.

I. THE CROWD AND SPECTACLE:

One of the most imposing components of spectacle at the Congresses was the crowd. The crowd was made up of German people who, at least according to Nazi ideology, shared a common race, language and historical heritage. Within the huge crowds, the people themselves acquired a heightened sense of association with their *Volk* It is possible they believed that the group itself symbolized the *Volk*. The massive scale of these crowds created spectacle from the festival and ritual components of the Congresses.

The collective expression of nationalism and citizenship was achieved in part by creating a crowd. The Nazis gathered large numbers of people together for a common purpose: to express the general will. As George Mosse has noted, the

> ...concept of popular sovereignty [was] given precision by the 'general will,' as Rousseau had expressed it, by the belief that only when all are acting together as an assembled people does man's nature as a citizen come into active existence. The concept of the general will lent itself to the creation of myths and their symbols. The new politics attempted to draw the people into active participation in the national mystique through rites and festivals, myths and symbols which gave a concrete expression to the general will.[2]

The manipulation of the crowd was a central concern for the Nazis and especially Hitler. He was deeply influenced by Gustav Le Bon's The Crowd -A Study of the Popular Mind: "Hitler had not only read Le Bon... but had stored away [his] teaching in his memory and adapted it logically to the circumstances of his time."[3]

Hitler made use of leadership principles espoused by Le Bon: "he who wished to be a leader (*Führer*) must impose himself on the masses through his own personal qualities, which must include firm belief (in an idea) and an imperious will;

only thus would he be able to rouse sufficient faith in the masses and impose his will upon them."[4] Furthermore, Le Bon postulated that "an orator wishing to move a crowd must make an abusive use of violent affirmations. To exaggerate, to affirm, to resort to repetitions, and never to attempt to prove anything by reasoning are methods of argument well known to speakers at public meetings."[5] These techniques were mastered by Hitler and their effectiveness is well-documented.

One of Le Bon's main ideas was that the crowd takes on the intelligence of its most average constituent regardless of how intelligent individuals within the crowd may be. The individual loses his or her capacity to think rationally and can be moved to actions and emotions that he would never experience if he was in the same situation alone:

> The principle characteristics of the individual forming part of a crowd, is the disappearance of the conscious personality, the turning by means of suggestion and contagion of feelings and ideas in an identical direction, the tendency to immediately transform the suggested ideas into acts. He is no longer himself, but has become an automaton who has ceased to be guided by his will.[6]

The individual, as part of a crowd, is susceptible to suggestion which does not need to be present at the outset of the event. According to MacAloon, spectacle allows the spectator to "just watch, " which liberates "individuals to *want* to, to be free to do more than watch."[7] The incredible effects on the individual achieved at the spectacle *depended* on the presence of the crowd. The knowledge of these effects of crowd behavior were put to practical use at the Nazi Party Congresses. The essential presence of the crowd reinforces the *Volk's* presence at the center of the performance system at the Nazi Party Congresses.

II. Music and Spectacle

One problem in relating music to spectacle is that a spectacle is meant to be *seen* and music is meant to be *heard*. Both music and spectacle are temporal: just as the spectacle is revealed visually and changes as each moment passes, music's sound also expires, never to be recaptured independently of the spectacle of which it is a part. Spectacle requires the steady rhythm for movement and drama which music provides.

A. Music and Living Spectacle:

Owing to the wide variety of music performance outside the rallies and parades, it is difficult to determine the degree to which music affected the creation of living spectacle, but accounts indicate that music played a significant role, not only entertaining but also encouraging participation. Music was performed in various contexts outside the formal rallies and parades where we find the performance spectacle. There were musical performances in the streets, at official concerts, fireworks displays and the Serenade to the *Führer*. A large variety of styles and genres was represented, from military marches, folk, patriotic and Nazi fighting songs, to performances of Handel overtures, Beethoven symphonies and Wagnerian music dramas. The combination of many musical performances would have had a greater impact on the living spectacle than any one performance.

John Baker White provides an example of living spectacle:

Two magnificent blond clear-eyed sailors, in their full-dress short jackets with their rows of gilt buttons...An immaculate green-uniformed policeman wearing his off-duty forage cap, with him a girl in the brown jacket and blue skirt of the Hitler Youth. Soberly dressed middle-aged men and women with neat little parcels of food, Bavarian peasants in their leather shorts and embroidered jackets, three Japanese busy with their cameras...blue-shirted boys of the Hitler Youth...come from the four corners of Germany to Nuremberg en fete...At the bottom of the hill a circle of soldiers, arms linked, were singing folk songs, and their voices rose clear on the evening air...[8]

White gives two impressions: one visual (a description of a street scene at a Congress) the other of music in the midst of the event, contributing to the surrounding spectacle in the form of spontaneous performance by the soldiers.

The performance of music at *official* functions throughout Nuremberg also contributed to living spectacle. In 1927 for example, there were concerts by brass bands in seventeen different locations throughout Nuremberg in conjunction with the opening ceremonies of the Congress alone. Huge crowds would assemble to hear the entertainment by bands from the many organizations such as the Hitler Youth, workers and military groups. These large concerts around the city created crowd gatherings which in turn contributed to the living spectacle. In this setting, the movement of the crowds was not choreographed.

Fireworks displays were part of living spectacle and were accompanied by music. In the Congress of 1929 for example, the fireworks were impressive: "as the finale, a swastika appeared in the evening sky, surrounded by a circle of green leaves and crowned by a huge eagle. Five bands accompanied the crowd as they sang the national anthem."[9]

Music accompanied the spectacle created by the fireworks and it heightened the impact of the visual effects and provided entertainment.

In this instance, it is possible the crowd's response to the fireworks with the national anthem was not spontaneous but planned by the Nazis. The bands probably began to play the anthem at the conclusion of the display and the people responded. This function of music is more than mere entertainment here: it united the spectators at the spectacle --an effect which would have been desired by the Nazis and could easily have been arranged.

It seems therefore, that there was a thin line between spontaneity in living spectacle of the Congresses and manipulation of the crowd by the Nazis. Spontaneous music did occur in living spectacle, as noted by Baker above. Its presence is difficult to measure, however, because documentation of such musical performances is rare and incomplete.[10] Furthermore, given the manipulative nature of the Nazis, it is reasonable to assume the possibility of some staging even in the frame of living spectacle.

One standard musical event at the Congresses stands outside this frame: although Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* was performed as an annual event at the Opera House,[11] its contribution to living spectacle is somewhat limited. While the production of the music drama was in itself a kind of spectacle, it was not open to the common people but rather only to guests invited by Hitler. The work reflected a long German history and heritage embodied in the town of Nuremberg and a search for true German song. These were themes embraced by the Nazis and suited their own presence in Nuremberg, but the exclusive nature of the event set it apart from the other musical events of the Congresses.

The roles of the actor and audience in the living spectacle frame are closely related and one can easily assume the identity of the other. Living spectacle relies on the spontaneous interaction between actor and audience to actually create the spectacle. All who attended a living spectacle had roles of both spectator and participant, the extent of each depending on their physical location and emotional involvement.

Music in the living spectacle had its impact at a local level. This is due in part to the scale of the music performances themselves: they were aimed at small and localized audiences. The role of music was mainly entertainment and participation. It is rather the sum of localized examples of music-making that contributed to the living spectacle at the Congresses.

B. Music and Performance Spectacle:

Music's role in performance spectacle at the Nazi Congresses was most clearly illustrated at the rallies and parades. Music facilitated the movement that produced visual effect, provided cues to the participants and spectators, guided form in the spectacle, and helped to create mood, atmosphere and drama. Ultimately music unified the spectators and participants alike.

i) Music and Movement

Musical accompaniment coordinated movement among groups which was essential to the overall success and impact of the spectacle. The union of music and

movement provided drama and physical interplay among the massed participants. Whether it was played by massed bands or drum corps, music provided the steady rhythm necessary for effective visual presentation.

Some sources of music and movement at the Congresses include the *Thing* theater, rhythmic gymnastics and modern dance.

The *Thing* theater or *Thingspiele* was a type of drama developed by the Nazis. It was called *Thing* in reference to meeting places of ancient German tribes. Outdoor theaters were built specifically for *Thing* productions and when they proved to be unsuccessful (the *Thing* was not pursued past 1937[12]), the venues were used for conventional plays and solstice festivals. Performances incorporated group movement, speaking choruses, collective singing and musical accompaniment. Themes for the *Thing* focused on nationalism, *Volk* worship and historical representation. The inner conflicts of the individual which had informed the conventional stage became symbolic of the race soul.[13]

The purpose of the *Thing* was to involve audience participation. The audiences joined in saying the "Credo," choral singing and responses. Klaus Vondung has noted that the Congresses duplicated several elements of the *Thing*, including outdoor setting and thematic focus (on nationalism and the *Volk*), but also such specific practices as collective singing, speaking choruses, movement choruses and musical accompaniment. For the Nazis, it seems that these elements proved to be more effective on mass audiences at the Congresses than in the smaller amphitheater settings.

This use of space and movement on a large scale was integral to performance spectacle. Although they did not embrace the Nazi ideology or participate directly in staging rallies, the theories and practical aspects of two modern dance choreographers, Mary Wigman and Rudolf von Laban, were incorporated in the general use of space. The rhythmic gymnastics ideas of Emil Jacques Dalcroze were also used.

According to Wigman, "groups were the most effective in forming space and creating an atmosphere. [They] became symbols, a group of human beings who fused into one moving body with a single goal." Movement of groups was introduced by Rudolf von Laban who took modern dance from the theater to the festival. He traveled from place to place receiving commissions from various festivals to train the local people in "the discipline of rhythm and choruses of movement."[14] Movement choruses became a common feature in German festivals because they were instrumental in achieving a sense of unity. Laban concentrated on the movement of groups to give performers a common experience of movement so that, in his words, "they could conquer the space." The audience and actors needed to share the same joyful mood. This joy, closely linked with festival, "enhanced the experience of community between performers and spectators."[15]

Uniformity was integral to the performance spectacle of the Congresses. The Nazis used the above ideas of group movement on a grander scale. They recognized the powerful impact of conformity of the entire group in the presentation. If one participant was out of place or marched to the wrong rhythmic pulse, the effect

of the whole would be lost. Similarly, when groups were static the visual effect depended on how well the individuals stood in formations.

Music and movement were essential to the seductive impact and efficacy of the Nazi parades in the performance spectacle frame. For literally hours on end, groups marched before the *Führer*. Music was a natural and traditional accompaniment to troop movements. The parades demonstrated the power of numbers that the Nazis had at their disposal, from the Hitler Youth to the SA and Armed Forces. In Triumph of the Will we see how music was wedded to the movement of the performance spectacle. The military music that accompanied the marches implied the might of the Third Reich.

The tempo and steady rhythm of the music affected the rate at which the performance spectacle unfolded. At the Luitpold Arena or *Zeppelinwiese* for example, marching-in of standard bearers and members of large groups, for logistical reasons, tended to be brisk. In moments of solemnity such as lowering the flags in the Memorial Ceremony, the tempo was slow and deliberate.

The instruments chosen were also appropriate for the occasion and desired acoustic effect. Full bands accompanied marchers, and small numbers of bugles or even solo bugles accompanied lowering of flags in respect for the dead.

ii) MOOD AND DRAMATIC EFFECT:

Music was used along with color, symbols, and special lighting to create mood and dramatic effects at the rallies. The rallies became famous for their extraordinary use of lighting at night. In the rally of 1938 for example, Burden describes how the

"searchlights that created a dome-like effect over the field, were as usual, breathtaking. *The New York Times* quoted one American visitor as saying that the spectacle would make Hollywood bite its nails, because it was inimitable."[16] In order to heighten the fervor of the crowd, sometimes Hitler would wait to appear at the podium until the exact moment when the sun set, and huge search lights illuminated the *Zeppelinweise* to create the 'dome of light.' At the same time, huge bon-fires were lit on the surrounding hilltops for more effect.

Symbols such as swastika, eagle, German oak, and flame were used repetitively in Nazi Germany and abounded at the Congresses, but to achieve impact on the largest scale, color was essential to the live presentation. The "great tide of crimson" created by amassing thousands of Nazi flags possibly resembled blood and its association with sacrifice for the nation and the *Führer*. In the Hitler Youth rally of 1936, the boys wore brown shirts, the girls wore white and naval contingents wore blue shirts with brown velvet jackets. According to the *New York Times*: "with their pink healthy faces and blond hair…the gathering resembled a huge flower-bed."[17]

The marches and music the bands played certainly had particular associations for listeners and would have contributed to the mood and drama of the rallies. For example, lyrics to familiar patriotic songs produced emotional responses in the people. In Triumph of the Will, the faces of thousands of people can be seen crying, laughing, shouting and awestruck as the spectacle of a rally unfolded. Through such scenes, the film sought to communicate to its viewers the intensity of involvement that was a principal goal of the rallies.

iii) MUSICAL CUES AND STRUCTURE

Music also helped to guide the structure of a rally. For example, the following is an account of the rally of *Gauleiters* (local Party leaders) on the evening of September 11, 1936 given by a *New York Times* correspondent:

> At 8:30 P.M. a trumpet fanfare following a roar of cheers outside the arena constantly coming nearer announced Hitler's arrival. Then he appeared, a lone figure atop the wide steps at the far side of the arena, where the wide lane ended. Awaiting him on the steps was a great gathering of high Nazi officials, all, like himself, in brown uniform.
>
> As he appeared there shone upward from a hidden circle of 150 army searchlights behind the grandstands as many spears of light to the central point above. It was the same device employed at the Olympic Games, but it was greatly improved and infinitely larger.
>
> In this bright light Hitler walked down the steps through the group awaiting him and slowly a procession with him at the head marched across the field to the tribune. The thunderous cheers quite drowned out the music of the massed bands playing him in.
>
> He ascended the tribune and stood there waiting until there was complete silence. Then suddenly there appeared far in the distance a mass of advancing red color. It was the 25,000 banners of Nazi organizations in all parts of Germany.[18]

The rally proceeded punctuated by sequences of music. The arrival of the *Führer* was anticipated by trumpet fanfare which served as an introduction to the rally. It heightened the suspense of the crowd which was released in great cheers upon the appearance of Hitler. For hundreds of years, trumpet fanfares heralded the arrival and entrances of royalty, here represented by the *Führer*. The fanfare emphasized the importance of Hitler's rank. The 'action' of the fanfare caused the 'reaction' of wild cheers from the spectators. Moreover, the instruments of the fanfare played an important role in the spectacle. Photographs and film evidence show the fanfare trumpets to be long ceremonial horns--ones used for special occasions. Their sound

created a sense of majesty and distinction, and their appearance contributed visually to the spectacle. Trumpets played a large part in processions in the national festivals from the nineteenth century and earlier. They were regularly present as a vanguard before significant groups, individuals or announced theme floats in parades. Trumpets were also used for their clear, bright sound that carries a great distance, promoting cheers by those assembled outside the venue and intensifying the crowd's excitement inside the stadium.

Drums, bugle calls and military bands are other sources of music that punctuated form and contributed to the unfolding spectacle. The bands tended to accompany marches, while certain parts of the rallies, such as speeches, speaking choruses and participants' movement of flags, spades or rifles, were anticipated either by bugles or drums and sometimes an exchange of both.

Before a meeting even began, musicians were required to perform background music for the crowds as they arrived at the Stadium. Burden cites an account from a musician at the rally for district leaders of the party in 1933:

> At 6:00 A.M. we had to leave for the big meeting in the Stadium. We had to play for four hours from the speaker's platform to entertain the assembling formations while they were waiting. It was one of the most overwhelming sights to see from this high platform how the vast Stadium filled slowly and very orderly with hundreds of thousands of uniformed men and women....Finally Hitler appeared with his staff. He sat down about six feet away from us...When he finally got up we played the 'Crusaders Fanfare,' and he began to address the crowds.[19]

iv) VISUAL PRESENTATION

Music and musicians had a conspicuous presence at the Congresses and the rallies. Musicians contributed both aurally and visually; that is, by the music that they performed and by their appearance –their sheer numbers. Massed bands were easily seen: brass instruments shone in the sunlight or spotlights at night and drums of the Hitler Youth were decorated with flames producing a colorful sight. The larger the set of musicians and instruments, the more easily the music could be heard over greater distances.

Musicians usually wore uniforms and were surrounded by flags and standard bearers. In some cases, such as in the Congress Hall, musicians were distinguished from the Nazi officials who wore military dress by their formal attire (which served as their uniform). They were also set apart from other members of the gathering by their physical location on the speaking platform and their role in performing music. The prominent location of the musicians underscores the official function and importance of music in the rally setting: it was used for entertainment and background sound; music excited the crowds, introduced speeches, accompanied group movements and helped to unite events of the mass meetings.

There is a particular relationship between the spectacle and the people who see and participate in it. For example, a rally on the *Zeppelinweise* would situate the actor-participants on the field and the platform, and the spectators in the stands. At the *Zeppelinweise*, the spectators became participants in the events that unfolded before them, emotionally and through their behavior. They responded appropriately with salutes and cheers or silence, depending on the situation. They cried, laughed or

sang in response to their emotions stirred by the spectacle. Conversely, the actors who were assembled on the field had limited visual access to the rest of the spectacle; their perspective of the grandeur and visual impact of it was limited. The spectators' ability to participate in the valuation of the spectacle resulted from their different viewpoint: they could appreciate the spectacle more fully because they were in a better position to see it. The actor-participants on the other hand, who themselves created the spectacle, had a limited view therefore their awareness of the performance was diminished.

Music unifies the roles of actor and spectator in performance spectacle. For the audience, music provides aural cues and enhances the effects of the unfolding visual elements. The actors, on the other hand, participate in the spectacle by responding to musical cues and carrying out their choreography accordingly. Music unites the actors who hear and respond and the audience members who hear and see.

CONCLUSION:

The behavior of the actors and audience is intimated by the frame. In both living spectacle and performance spectacle, the main motive is "to watch." The crowd, as the audience, responded to what they saw. The crowd also became a visual part of the spectacle and their presence was required for the efficacy and prodigious scale of the performance.

The Nazis held successful and influential Congresses because they recognized the impact of assembly's tradition on the individual. The influence of large numbers of people at a live presentation such as a rally or parade was effective both in

demonstrating current support for the Party and in acquiring new supporters. Moreover, the widespread use of music and symbols such as the swastika, the eagle, flags and consistent appeals to the *volkisch* heritage further increased the effectiveness of the National Socialist Congresses. They were the definitive events in Nazi Germany that encouraged active participation.

We can separate two types of spectacle at the Nazi Party Congresses: living spectacle and performance spectacle. Music had different functions according to the nature of the spectacle. Living spectacle was found in the streets and pubs of Nuremberg under conditions where the actions of the people were not choreographed in advance. Performance spectacle on the other hand, was pre-planned and orchestrated to the last detail and was found primarily in the rallies and parades.

In living spectacle, our knowledge of spontaneous music is limited owing to the lack of written records. Music was confined to entertainment and localized participation. Living spectacle relied on the overall visual impression in the city of Nuremberg: the combination of huge crowds, decorations, flags, and a wide variety of uniforms and ancient dress for its existence. In this frame, therefore, music's role occurs at a micro-level in the actual formation of the spectacle. Music was not strategically linked with the unfolding of living spectacle in the same way as it was with performance spectacle, but it remained an integral part.

In the performance spectacle frame, music supported the creation of spectacle and was intimately linked with the performance. We have noted how music

provided cues, tempo, steady rhythm, contributed to movement, the atmosphere and dramatic effects.

The mass rallies and parades were political tools used by the Nazis in the Congresses at which a great number of German people were moved to collective action/behavior, whether staged or spontaneous (or degrees of both). This is one of the successes of the Nazis in staging large Party Congresses. They used repetition of symbols and music to gain coherence in their presentation of National Socialism in the performance system at the Nuremberg Congresses. In the spectacle frames, the crowds were moved to believe in themselves as the essence of the German *Volk*.

Music served to unite the actors and audience in living spectacle and performance spectacle around the *Volk*. In some ways, the gathering portrayed the glorification of the *Volk* by virtue of the huge numbers of people present. The crowd heightened the sense of belonging to a community, a common language and a common race.

Music was an integral part of the pageantry and self-representation of the Nazis at the Congresses. Music increased individual participation in living spectacle and heightened the intensity of the staged displays in performance spectacle.

Chapter Three

Festival Frame of the Nazi Party Congresses

The celebrations of German heritage at the Nuremberg Congresses did not originate with National Socialism. Rather, the Nazis took advantage of a long-standing tradition and practice of *Volk*-worship and celebration with roots in nineteenth century festivals. These festivals served multiple functions. They were occasions for different social classes to interact and come together as a people, memorials to those who had died in defense of the Fatherland, celebrations of famous Germans (such as Schiller), demonstrations of the desire for unity, and events to celebrate common heritage and ancestry culminating in a national worship of the *Volk*.

In the discussion of music's role in the festival frame of the Nazi Party Congresses we see how music was used in celebration of the *Volk*. I briefly describe historical and national festivals of the nineteenth century in terms of political and social factors along with their theory and practice. I look at music in terms of four main roles: *Occasional, Functional, Entertainment* and *Participatory* (in which the role of the male choral societies I briefly outlined) and two examples of nineteenth century festivals. I show how the earlier festivals contributed to the Congresses in

terms of form and content. Finally, I situate the four main roles of music in the festival frame and celebration of the *Volk* at the Congresses.

HISTORICAL AND NATIONAL FESTIVALS

Several kinds of festivals developed in nineteenth century Germany. Some festivals were connected with ancient folk customs such as the summer solstice or harvest festivals.[2] Specific 'historical festivals' and 'national festivals' tended to emphasize historical anniversaries and were often held by various associations such as the gymnasts, sharp-shooters, workers and male chorus societies. Elements of the various festivals overlapped from one to another including flags, ancient dress, bonfires, torch-lit processions, parades, folk songs, and speeches. Specifically, the terms 'national festival' and 'historical festival,' are closely related and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them.

The main motive for an *historical* festival was an historical commemoration day or anniversary. The absence of a specific anniversary or special occasion associated with a festival tended to be an exception to the rule. The birthday of a city, tradition and history of a dynasty (where participants wore traditional and epochal costumes), celebration of forefathers and peasant heritage (folk festival), official openings and dedications of monuments or a festival which combined specialized performers such as sharp-shooters, singing organizations, and gymnasts are some more common examples.

The development of German historical festivals is outlined in Wolfgang Hartmann's *Der Historische Festzug: Seine Entstehung und Entwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. In the eighteenth century he notes that the church and courts were

the main organizers of festivals. In the nineteenth century, the middle class took a more active role in staging festivals.

The characteristics of a German *national festival* included: some occasion to celebrate (such as the anniversary of a military victory), a significant place at which to meet *en masse* (such as a national monument with a festival field) and traditional symbols associated with the celebration (including flags, ancient Germanic dress, and 'sacred flame' or torch-light ceremonies/parades). Moreover, a combination of specific actions made up the celebration such as music performances and collective singing, memorial services, parades, banquets and beer-drinking, speeches, and sometimes gymnastic and sharp-shooting exhibitions. The development of these national festivals from the nineteenth century to the Third Reich is discussed by George Mosse in Nationalization of the Masses.

Historical and national festivals are closely related because both celebrated Germanic past and both contained similar activities such as parades, processions, historical dress, flags, fire and song. Historical festivals tended to chronicle German deeds and heritage, reinforcing the motives of unity and *Volk* celebration which in turn were important to national festivals. A divergence between the two festivals, however, is noted in the more serious and political nature of the national festivals. Speeches at national festivals often advocated social or political change, articulated grievances toward foreign occupation and expressed a desire for unity among the German people. Certain symbols and acts of celebration seem to be closely related to ritual. Their continuing presence also implies their symbolic significance. Examples of these include memorial services, parades, speeches, flags, torches and song. At the

Congresses, the Nazis retained activities associated with the festival tradition in general to create *Volk* celebration as part of the Congresses. The political emphasis was reminiscent of nineteenth century national festivals. The commemoration chosen by the Nazis for the Congresses was France's defeat by the Prussian army at Sedan in September 1870.[3]

To analyze the festival frame for the Congresses, I will describe the activities for celebration while the ritual aspects of the Congresses are discussed in chapter four. Within the festival frame therefore, the definition of festival from chapter one is: " a time of celebration marked by special observances...a program of public festivity;" in which the emotional atmosphere was "gay, merry and light-hearted".

FESTIVALS: BACKGROUND TO THE CONGRESSES

Political, social, and economic factors at the beginning of the nineteenth century encouraged German unity. General disdain toward French occupation and widespread poverty contributed to the desire for a united German nation. Industrialization, the rise of the middle class and the quest for national identity spurred Germans in many regions to become active in creating political change which took the better part of the century to achieve: unification in 1871.

To some, this achievement was not entirely satisfactory however, as not all German-speaking peoples were united in 1871, and still less after World War I. This disappointment was constantly identified by the Nazis in their own agenda for expanding German political borders. They encouraged participation in the Congresses from Germans outside their political boundaries. Party members from

Austria, Rhineland and Sudetenland were invited as guests and took part in Congresses at Nuremberg.

The nationalistic theory and practice of national festivals in Germany was expressed early in the nineteenth century by two influential writers, Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778- 1852). In their opinion, patriotism was to be acted out in the form of public festivals where large numbers could gather in celebration of the *Volk*. They stressed that a festival's setting should be close to a national monument to provide symbolism as a link to past tradition: other symbols included the German oak, landscape, ancient dress, as well as the study of folk songs and customs.[4]

The German notion of nationalism was not based on individual freedom and rights but rather its foundation was the *Volk* --all Germans united together in the spirit of ancestors. According to Jahn, "festivals must embody transcendent ideals symbolized through the nation. They must link themselves with traditions still alive among the people, and penetrate the unconscious."[5] Thus public festivals were occasions where *Völkisch* past and German heritage could be celebrated.

Three main groups were motivated by Jahn's writings: the free corps of patriotic volunteers, gymnastic associations for the training of patriotic fighters and student fraternities which became "the only organization of all Christian German students in all German Universities, united irrespective of class, caste, state, or province."[6] The militant patriotism in these groups' members, whose goal was unity of their nation, spread across German lands. While unity was not achieved until much later in the century, the national festival provided a forum where like-minded Germans

could express their desire for union and perhaps influence others to join them. Moreover these groups were represented together or separately at most national festivals and their presence was almost conventional by the end of the century.

Historical consciousness was an important contributor to the national festival. For Arndt, specific festival occasions included anniversaries of military victories such as the Battle of the Teutoburger Forest or the Battle of Leipzig. He suggested that a festival include general remembrances of men who sacrificed their lives for the fatherland.[7] A tradition of reverence for comrades who died in the quest for independence and unity entered the festival in the form of memorial services from early in the nineteenth century.

In 1814, Arndt proposed a German Association or *Deutsche Gesellschaft* to actively encourage German people to resist outside influence and pursue *völkisch* ideals. Arndt's desire for German Association had already been reflected by the formation of groups with common interests such as the sharp-shooters in the late eighteenth century, the male chorus societies in 1809, the Association of German Doctors and Scientists in 1810, gymnasts in 1811. Patriotism was a rallying point for these groups, but popular participation was not yet widespread.

Characteristics of *Volk* ideals that we noted in chapter one, such as common language, shared history and consciousness of ethnic heritage were also articulated by Arndt. After travelling through the Rhineland and discovering to his dismay that pro-French sentiments had been growing among the upper classes, Arndt states in a letter:

> In all large cities where there are enough educated people, we Germans might found German Societies which, in order not to excite suspicion among the authorities, would not be secret but would openly proclaim and acknowledge as their purpose the

expulsion of French impertinence, lewdness and speech, and the exaltation and invigoration of German morals, usages and language. These German Societies, which would not be philological associations but genuinely national, articulate and living...would raise our language again to the status of a spoken tongue, inculcate the memories of our past history and the strength of German virtue directly in the people, celebrate national festivals...raise everything purely German to eminence and keep before the public always the idea that all Germans must be brothers.[8]

Arndt also describes how the *Volk* was tied to national festivals and how music was linked to the worship of the *Volk*. For example, Arndt had specific views about the role of music in the national festival: that patriotic songs and hymns should be synthesized in the expression of common worship. Moreover, he wrote lyrics to a number of popular patriotic songs, many of which were set by several composers. The general population came to know them well as these songs were sung both at the festivals and in male chorus groups.[9]

Jahn and Arndt influenced the festivals not only in theory --that is where, when and why to meet together --but also in practical terms. Jahn trained gymnasts and patriotic fighters in day to day matters toward the goal of achieving political unity and these groups actively participated in national festivals. Arndt contributed songs that were embraced, disseminated by Germans and sung in the national festivals.

MUSIC'S ROLE IN FESTIVALS:

The main emphasis of the festival frame is celebration and festivity. Music is an effective means of creating a festive atmosphere and articulating expressions of celebration through collective singing of patriotic songs and folk songs, background music to fireworks, accompaniment to folk dancing and banquets. I have identified four main categories of music as a part of the content and form in national festivals.

As mentioned in chapter one, *Occasional* music refers to works composed for a specific event. *Functional* refers to music that accompanies aspects of form in a festival such as reveille or in a parade or procession. *Entertainment* music created a festive atmosphere; examples include dinner music at banquets, music concerts or folk dancing demonstrations, accompaniment of fireworks displays among others. Finally, *participatory* pertains to music which invites active participation such as collective singing of patriotic *lieder* or taking part in a dance which frequently follows a banquet.

I have included two programs from nineteenth century festivals, a German national festival and a *Volk* Festival, to illustrate the role of music. The first is from the Hambach National Festival 1832 (figure 4) and the second is from a Music-Folk Festival in Heidelberg 1838 (figure 5). In both figures the role of music is identified with italics and brackets. I chose examples of national and *Volk* festival programs because while the tone of celebration is different between them, elements of both reappeared at the Congresses.

The focus for the Heidelberg festival was festivity. The activities were for entertainment, enjoyment, and celebration. The Heidelberg festival is also an example of how two large organizations, such as the sharp-shooters and male choirs, joined forces to host a festival. As a result, there was a combination of sharp-shooting activities and music-making. On one hand, the choirs were accompanied by cannons and on the other hand, shooting competitions had musical accompaniment. Certain

parts of the celebration, such as fireworks, torch-light procession and public entertainment, are found at the Nazi Congresses as well.

FIGURE 4

Heidelberg Music-Folk Festival[10]: June 5-7 1838

Day Before

Sharp-shooting society held competitions during the afternoon the day before and after the festival; sharp-shooting enthusiasts were invited to attend.

Night Before

Opening of the Festival: Various Music Choirs along with the thunder of the guns. [*Entertainment and Occasional music*]

Evening: Choir of Citizen-militia by torch-light procession sounded the last post. [*Functional music*]

Fireworks on the river Neckar to the accompaniment of music and cannons. [*Entertainment music*]

Festival day:

4:00 a.m. Reveille played by the Chorus of the Grenadier Company of the Burger-Militars with Janitscharenmusik [*Functional music*]

morning Parade of Citizen-militia. [*Functional and Participatory music*]

12:00-6:00 p.m. Public entertainment at Ludwigs-Platz.

12:00 Music [*Entertainment music*]

1:00 Dance [*Entertainment and Participatory music*]

Evening Dance in the Museum. [*Entertainment, Participatory music*]

At the castle ruin a number of bonfires and torches. [*Participatory music*]

9:00p.m. Sharp-shooting Association held a grandiose shooting performance with fireworks, brilliant fountains, colorful lighting and glorifying music. [*Entertainment music*]

During the three days from 5 to 7 of June, the royal highness, through great generosity, gives the city the gift of a telescope for the use of visitors... to put the magnificent rotunda of the surrounding neighborhood in better view.

Political concerns were more prominent at Hambach. The *Nationalfest* is considered by some to be the first large scale festival centered around national unity. There was less entertainment and more participation. The people who attended the festival took part in political discussions, walked together to the castle ruin and sang

patriotic songs. The joy at Hambach was illustrated by the collective actions of the people demonstrating their desire for "unity of the German national character and Fatherland" --not unlike the festival frame of the Nazi Congresses.

FIGURE 5

Hambach National Festival, 1832[11]

Day before:
Welcome speeches, political discussions among friends and acquaintances and singing (especially Arndt's "*Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?*") [*Participatory music*]

Festival Day:
8:00 a.m. Church Bells Ring [*Functional music*]

Procession to the Castle ruin assembled at the Market Square: including a small group of local town guardsmen near a band. Women and girls with a Polish flag-bearer, decorated with red and white streamers. More guardsmen followed by the first group of Festival committee members, each with the black-red and gold flags inscribed with "*Deutschlands Wiedergeburt*" ("Germany's Rebirth").

Members of political delegation of the province then lastly, visitors from all German-speaking parts grouped by their area of origin each with one or more German flags, 16 in all.
Marchers had green flags with oak ring (Eichenkranz) in gold.
[*Participatory, Functional music*]

Everyone sang Arndts' *Vaterlandslied* and a new song "*Hinauf Patrioten, zum Schloss, zum Schloss*!" [*Participatory and Occasional music*]

At the castle ruin: 19 Speeches reflected anger over the division of German lands, sorrow over the poverty of the people, bitterness toward oppression by the Princes, and a declaration of the sovereignty of the people. The belief in the freedom and unity of the German national character and Fatherland. [*Participatory music*]

Food and Drink was available at the square.

Each of the above examples illustrates the different roles of music (functional, participatory, occasional or entertainment) to a different degree. Through this

comparison and noting some main events that were part of these two examples, we will begin to see predecessors of the role of music in the Nazi Congresses.

Occasional Music

Occasional music refers to music that was composed for a specific festival. The Hambach description refers to "a new song: *Hinauf Patrioten, zum Schloss, zum Schloss!"* It was written specifically for the festival by Siebenpfeiffer who adapted the melody from the "*Schillerschen Reiterliedes*."[12] Two more *lieder* written for Hambach but not included in the program include one by Christian Scharpff from Homburg ("*Vaterland, im Schwerterglanze*..) and the Heidelberger Student's lied by Korner called "*Das Volk steht auf, der Sturm bricht los*." As already mentioned, melodies were often simple and folk-like so that they could easily be remembered and transmitted orally. Sometimes, as in "*zum Schloss zum Schloss*," melodies were borrowed from already known songs.

Music was sometimes separated from the festival and repeated in other contexts. In some ways, the music becomes a symbol of the event, like souvenirs and festival memorabilia. At Hambach for example, pictures and plates reproduced the procession[13] and "*zum Schloss*" became a popular patriotic song in other parts of the country.

FUNCTIONAL MUSIC

Music served three main functions at national festival celebrations. It organized movement of the people in processions or parades, complemented speeches and helped to articulate the form of the celebration.

As mentioned in chapter two, music provided a way to create organized movement among the people. An important part of festival celebrations was the parade or procession to the festival site. In Hambach for example, even women and children carried flags and banners to create the festive atmosphere. The music for the procession/parade was either performed by a band or supplied by collective singing of the participants to accompany their own marching to the festival.

Patriotic songs complemented speeches. While it was probably difficult for everyone to hear the speeches, they could all participate in singing. Music therefore increased the power of the speeches as the song-texts echoed the sentiments in the speeches. Collective articulation of nationalism intensified the participants' sense of unity and purpose.

In addition to the parades/procession and collective singing which articulated form at the festivals, music provided structure in other ways as well. At Heidelberg for example, the opening of the festival was declared by choirs and guns and last-post concluded the evening. Reveille signaled the beginning of the festival day, followed by a parade, music at noon, dance and fireworks displays in the evening.

ENTERTAINMENT MUSIC

The music that we regard as functional in determining form of the festival (such as dance music and fireworks accompaniment) can also be seen from the entertainment perspective. As entertainment however, music contributed by creating a festive atmosphere and encouraged celebration among the participants in a festival.

In some instances music had a social function and its role was purely atmospheric, This was the case at Heidelberg for example, where a banquet was part of the festival schedule and dinner music was played as a background to feasting.

At formal concerts on the other hand, music was the center of the event and was regarded as more refined entertainment. Works by popular composers were performed by local and regional musicians for a more appreciative audience.

PARTICIPATORY MUSIC

In the festival frame, there are two main ways in which music invited active participation: through dance and singing. As part of the celebration, folk dancing illustrated Germanic costumes and evoked a strong sense of Germanic heritage. The music that accompanied the dancing was based on traditional folk melodies and the performances celebrated tradition. Moreover, music provided a means of bringing the past to life in the present --traditional melodies and dances performed for a contemporary audience. These exhibitions of *Volk* traditions became more than performances: German heritage became reified, creating an identity for audiences to whom they may not have been familiar.

Patriotic songs were significant as expressions for the desire of national unity in nineteenth century Germany. Their texts reveal the "moods and needs of the people... the ideas and ideals of a nation were set to verse in words that all could understand."[14] Moreover, patriotic songs were full of emotional language which created strong responses in both listeners and singers. This led to the widespread knowledge and popularity of patriotic songs not only in German states but in other German-speaking areas as well.

The texts of patriotic songs often stressed such themes as philanthropy, freedom from French occupation, nature (celebrating the German country-side and the mighty oak), faith in God and death as a Romantic ideal (a climax and escape, full of honor if achieved in protecting the Fatherland).[15] The songs articulated the desire to share a common language, history, heritage and land. In short, they reflected the desire for political and spiritual unity of an idealized German *Volk*.

Patriotic songs were performed primarily in group settings such as male chorus gatherings, private homes or public festivals. The songs were not meant to be performed by a soloist but rather together with one's companions. Furthermore, patriotic songs tended to be based on folk-like melodies with new texts applied to already familiar tunes. They were easily learned and disseminated.

Some examples of patriotic song include *Des Deutschen Vaterland*, *Die Wacht am Rhein* (Watch on the Rhine), and *Ich hatt' ein Kamaraden* (I Had a Comrade). (See Appendices). These *lieder* could be heard sung at festivals, homes and almost every male singing group in Germany.[16] The texts illustrate the importance of active devotion to German aspirations for unity and sacrifice for the Fatherland.

One example, *Des Deutschen Vaterland*, was written by Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) with music by Gustav Reichardt (1797-1884). It is part of the Hambach festival and is also alluded to at the Nazi Congresses.

Des Deutschen Vaterland

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
Ist's Preussenland? ist's Schwabenland?
Ist's, wo am Rhein die Rebe bluht?
Ist's wo am Belt die Move zieht?
O nein, nein, nein!
Sein Vaterland muss grösser sein

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
Ist's Baierland? ist's Steierland?
Ist's, wo des Marsen Rind sich streckt?
Gewiss es ist das Oesterreich, an Siegen und an Ehren reich?
O nein, nein, nein!
Sein Vaterland muss grösser sein

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
Ist's Pommerland, Westphalenland?
Ist's wo der Sand der Dunen weht?
Ist's wo die Donau brausend geht?
Doch nein, nein, nein!
Sein Vaterland muss grösser sein

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
So nenne mir das grösse Land!
Ist's Land der Schwiezer, ist's Tyrol?
Das Land und Volk gefiel mir wohl!
Doch nein, nein, nein!
Sein Vaterland muss grösser sein.

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
So nenne endlich mir das Land!
"So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt,
Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt,"
Das soll es sein, das soll es sein!
Das wackrer Deutscher nenne Dein.

Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!
O Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein!
Und gieb uns rechten deutschen Muth
Dass wir es lieben treu und gut.
Das soll es sein!
Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein![17]

"The German Fatherland"

What is the German Fatherland? Is't Prussian land, or Swabian land?
Where blooms the vine by Rhine so free? Where sea-mews skim the Baltic Sea?
Oh no! no! no! Our Fatherland must greater be.

What is the German Fatherland? Bavarian land, or Styrian land?
Sure Austria must the title claim, so rich in honor and in fame.
Oh no! no! no! Our Fatherland must greater be.

What is the German Fatherland? Pom'ranian land, Westphalian land?
Is't where the sand o'er plains are blown, or where the Danube rushes on?
Oh no! no! no! Our Fatherland must greater be.

What is the German Fatherland? O say where is that mighty land?
Is't Switzerland of Tyrol fair, the land and people please me there!
Oh no! no! no! Our Fatherland must greater be.

What is the German Fatherland? Say where doth lie that favor'd land?
Where e'er our German accents ring, and hymns to God on high they sing,
'Tis there, 'tis there, in every land is found the German Fatherland, our Fatherland.

[The whole of Germany shall it be, O God in heaven to oversee
And give us real German spirit that we live faithful and true.
Thus shall it be, Thus shall it be, the whole of Germany shall it be.][18]

The text names various regions where German people lived and desired political unity with one another. Arndt suggests that roots of the German *Volk* transcended contemporary political boundaries and all Germans should be brought together. This aspiration was later pursued by the Nazis.

MALE CHORUSES

Patriotic songs were disseminated in part by male choruses which contributed to a tradition of collective singing in everyday life and at festivals in particular. The male chorus took part in a majority of festivals in the nineteenth century and it is

important to understand the context of their participation. The following section explores some background information about the male chorus from the nineteenth century to the 1930's.

Male chorus societies sometimes sponsored festivals independently. They invited participants and audiences from neighboring communities so that instrumentalists and choirs could combine forces to stage larger events. Songfests were held by some associations. The *Sängerfeste* had a three-fold nature: the need for a feeling of national identity, the cultivation of comradeship, and the dissemination of German lieder.[19]

Male choruses met regularly (often once a month), wrote poems, composed songs and sang together. Within the male chorus community, national unity was strengthened in practical ways as a result of this consistent social interaction. When the choruses appeared at festivals, they shared their desire for unity with a larger group of people.

Different names such as *Singverein* (singing association), *Liederkranz* (singing circle), *Männerchor* (male choir), *Männergesangverein* (men's singing association) were used to describe the male choruses.

Political and social considerations were a part of the male chorus movement. The French Occupation from 1806 to 1813 and the War of Liberation in 1814-1815 saw Germanspeakers rally together. Music-making (and specifically men singing in groups) was a powerful means of expressing the desire for unity and liberty from the French. Moreover, "the growing interest in male singing derived its inspiration from a rebirth of folk song, a renewed emphasis on the beauty and greatness of the German

language, promoted by poets of the age, and the deep faith of the German people in a newly emerging male leadership striving toward a united Germany."[20]

Early in the nineteenth century, male singing groups were founded by Karl Zelter (1758-1832) and Hans Georg Nägeli (1773-1836). Many members of Zelter's original group came from Berlin's *Singakademie* which was founded in 1791 by Carl Fasch to revive older sacred music; Zelter took over the leadership following Fasch's death in 1800 and directed the group for almost 30 years.[21] As small numbers of men lingered after the formal rehearsals of the *Singakademie* to sing together, more joined. Soon the concept of convivial singing became popular. Zelter describes his plans to form the *Liedertafel* in a letter to Goethe, December 1808:

> For the celebrations marking the King's return. I have founded a choral union: a group of 25 men, the 25th of whom is the elected leader, who will meet once a month for a two-course dinner and will entertain themselves with pleasant German songs. The members must be either poets, singers or composers. Whoever has written or composed a new song will read or sing to those at the table, or have it sung. If it is applauded, then a collecting-box is passed round the table, into which... according to his fancy everybody puts in a Groschen or more...[22]

Zelter founded the *Liedertafel* in January, 1809. The *Liedertafel* (or song-table), was a social gathering for men to talk, sing and drink beer or wine. They sang about the German ideal way of life and unity of their nation. Zelter's *Liedertafel* generally remained a small and rather exclusive group and did not have a significant impact on a large number of people. By 1909 for example, the organization had yet to exceed 190 members.[23]

The Swiss-German, Hans Georg Nägeli founded large singing organizations. The general trend of increasing musical education among the middle class in nineteenth century Europe contributed to the widespread popularity of his

style of singing groups. According to Nägeli, "music must leave its domestic confines to become a general instrument of culture and education."[24] An educator, a composer, a musicologist and an entrepreneur, he believed that music and music-making could be a part of everyone's life, regardless of formal training. In the early part of the century, he founded a music shop and lending library (the first of its kind in Switzerland) as well as a publishing business. He wrote and lectured on the subject of musical aesthetics, publishing his collection of essays, *Vorlesungen über Musik* in 1826. Nägeli's aims for singing groups were not as focused on nationalism and German unity as Arndt's had been. Instead, he believed in a more universal meaning for group singing --the unity of humanity:

> The age of music will only begin when it is not only experts who devote themselves to the fine arts, but when the higher arts become the common property of the country's people, in fact of the whole contemporary European community, when mankind itself is incorporated into the element of music. This will only be possible through choral singing...Take a multitude of people, in their hundreds, in thousands, try to bring them into a reciprocal exchange of humanity...If a well-balanced chorus is performed with a hundred well-trained singers with only moderate voices, such as nature vouchsafes them, then the majesty of the people has been brought into being.[25]

The notion of singing publicly and in large numbers spread. By the 1840's, for example, there were several hundred amateur male choruses throughout German lands. Membership in various singing groups pervaded a large segment of society including youth, workers, church, middle class, aristocracy and in the latter part of the century, women. Youth and students were inspired by songs about war and liberty, and they became eager to voice their political beliefs in public festivals. According to Brinkman, "[the youth of the early nineteenth century] believed in the powerful role

of songs as the emotional weapon in building that greatness."[26] This inclination steadily increased and the Nazis took advantage of it in the 1920's and 1930's. The growing working class also embraced music-making as a means of expressing their own values. Workers' male choruses were organized somewhat independently of (and modeled after) their bourgeois counterparts.[27] Even in churches, male choruses were abundant. This is reflected in the repertoire composed for this genre.[28] Mixed choruses became popular by the end of the nineteenth century and women also took part in the singing groups.

The middle class had the largest representation in the male choruses. Generally, according to Cecilia Hopkins-Porter, "dramatic increases in population, the spread of urbanization...combined to advance the commercialization and mass public consumption of music, as well as the growth of musical institutions. These socio-economic upheavals...permitted the commercially and industrially oriented middle class of the Romantic age to gain possession of the instruments of culture."[29]

Despite turmoil surrounding the revolution in Prussia (1848), according to Mosse, the post-1848 era found stronger and more secure patriotic male choir associations. For example, the National German Choral Association was formed in 1862. It sponsored yearly festivals and competitions which were often held in the company of sharp-shooters and gymnasts.

Following unification in 1871, the choral association's role changed from a mouthpiece of the people to more of a professional organization. Choirs tended to perform more complex music, no longer easily accessible to the majority of members. In post-1871 Germany, the choirs continued to participate in national events such as

monument dedications and organized joint festivals with gymnasts and sharp-shooters. Moreover the Choral Association encouraged the desire for patriotic singing in other German-speaking lands such as Austria. According to Mosse, numbers associated with the Choral Association were substantial in the Weimar Republic. For example 40,000 people attended a festival in 1924 and association membership was over 500,000 in 1925.[30] A large number of German people participated in group singing and learned the popular repertoire which prevailed even to the 1930's. Group singing, specifically of patriotic songs, had firm foundations by the time the Nazi movement began. It was easy to draw upon familiar traditions and appeal. Collective singing became more structured and controlled by the Nazis once they achieved power in 1933.

MUSIC'S ROLE IN THE FESTIVAL FRAME OF THE NAZI PARTY CONGRESSES

As we have seen, music in the festival helped create a festive atmosphere by providing entertainment. This characteristic is demonstrated especially in the Heidelberg Music-Folk Festival where music entertained through the media of male choruses, dances, fireworks and sharp-shooting exhibitions. At the Hambach festival, music was more focused around nationalism and the desire for unity of the Fatherland and its people. In both, music contributed to celebration of the *Volk*. The Nazis used and expanded on this musical heritage as a political tool in their Congresses. Music not only formed part of the joyful festivity but also served to reinforce a main theme of the Congresses: unity of the German *Volk*.

Within the festival frame at the Congresses, four general categories of music's role remain: functional, participatory, occasional and entertainment, with celebration of the *Volk* at the center.

Elements from the two sample festivals from Hambach and Heidelberg are seen in the Nazi Congresses. The Nazis combined light-hearted celebration with enjoyable activities and entertainment as done in the Heidelberg festival. These elements were reproduced at the Congresses in the form of music concerts, carnivals and fireworks displays. They contributed to the festive atmosphere. But the Nazis also used the more serious under-tones found at national festivals such as Hambach. Political speeches, flags, emblems, fire, traditional costumes and patriotic music created the desired mood and atmosphere with which they framed their message.

To gain an understanding of the structure of a particular Congress, I have chosen the program from 1936, shown in figure 6. It itemizes the official activities of the Congress, meetings, some entertainment and the key speakers at the various events. To ensure balanced representation from the other Congresses, I use some examples from other programs as well in my discussion of music's presence in the festival frame.

FIGURE 6

Nazi Congress Program Nuremberg 1936[31]

Thursday September 8

3:30 P.M. Hitler's Arrival at Nuremberg [*Functional and Entertainment music*]
Reception for the Press by Dr. Dietrich at the Kulturvereinshaus

4:00 P.M. The old flags of the army and navy taken to the army camp
5:30-6:00P.M. The Nuremberg Church Bells ring in the Party Day. [*Functional*]
6:00 P.M. Reception for Hitler in the Town Hall
7:30 P.M. Gala Performance of *Die Meistersinger von Nurnberg* at the Opera House. [*Entertainment music*]

Wednesday, September 9

9:30 A.M. Hitler reviews the parade of the Hitler Youth from the balcony of the hotel Deutscher Hof. [*Functional music*]

11:00 A.M. Opening ceremonies of the Party Congress at the Luitpold hall. Speakers: Hess, Lutze, Streicher and Wagner. [*Functional and Entertainment music*]
4:00 P.M. Opening of the exhibition "Political Germany." Sponsor: Hess
Meeting of the NSBO and the Committee on Trade and Commerce at the Town Hall.
Meeting of the Hitler Youth leaders at the conference room of the Town Hall.
4:00- 8:00 P.M. Tent camp of the Labor Service is open to visitors.
8:00 P.M. Cultural meeting at the Opera House. Speakers: Hitler and Rosenberg.

Thursday September 10

10:00 A.M. Parade of the Labor Service reviewed by Hitler at the *Zeppelinwiese*. Speakers Hitler and Hierl. [*Functional music*]

6:00 P.M. Continuation of the Party Congress. Speakers Rosenberg and Goebbels
8:30 P.M. Torch-light parade of the political leaders through Nuremberg. [*Functional/Participatory music*]
10:00P.M. Review of the torch-light parade by Hitler at the *Deutscher Hof.* [*Functional, Entertainment music*]

Friday September 11

7:30 A.M. Meeting of the association of National Socialist Jurists at the Kulturverinhaus
8:00 A.M. Meeting of the National Socialist Students' Association at the Katharinbau.
8:30 A.M. Meeting of the Committee on Ideological Training at the Opera House.
9:00 A.M. Ceremony for the National Socialist organizations from abroad at the Hercules Hall. Speaker: Hess. [*Functional music*]
10:30 A.M. Continuation of the Party Congress. Speakers: Reischle, Hilgenfeldt, Wagner.
1:00 P.M. Meeting of the National Socialist press functionaries at the Town Hall.
2:30 P.M. Meeting of the Association for Aids to War Victims at the *Kulturvereinshaus.*
Meeting of the Committee on Finance and Administration at the Conference room Town Hall.
Meeting of the Party court judges at the Opera House.
Meeting of the Committee on National Health at the Hercules Hall.
4:00 P.M. Meeting of the National Socialist Women's Association at the Congress Hall.

	Speakers: Hitler, Scholz-Klink.
8:00 P.M.	Review of the political leaders at the *Zeppelinweise*. Speakers Ley and Hitler. [*Functional, Participatory music*]
Saturday September 12	
8:00 A.M.	Meeting of the Organization Committee at the *Katharinbau*.
10:00 A.M	Review of the Hitler Youth at the Stadium. Speakers: Schirach, Hitler. [*Functional, Participatory music*]
11:30 A.M.	Meeting of the Labor Front at the Congress Hall. Speakers: Hecker, Sedlte, Ley, Hitler.
12:00 noon	Meeting of the Committee on National Welfare at the Hercules Hall.
2:00 P.M.	Opening of the carnival at the rally grounds. [*Entertainment music*]
3:00 P.M.	Continuation of the Party Congress. Speakers: Frank, Dietrich, Amann, Reinhardt.
8:00 P.M.	Fireworks. [*Entertainment music*]
Sunday September 13	
8:00 A.M.	Army maneuvers begin. [*Entertainment music*]
8:30 A.M.	Meeting of the Committee on Industry at the conference room at the Town Hall.
9:00 A.M.	Meeting of the local propaganda functionaries at the Hercules Hall.
	Meeting of the Committee on Agrarian policies at the *Kulturvereinshaus*.
	Meeting of the political leaders at the Opera House.
10:00 A.M.	Meeting of the Committee on Community policies.
10:30 A.M.	Meeting of the committee on Industry at the Town Hall.
2:00 P.M.	Army maneuvers continue. Speaker: Hitler.
5:00 P.M.	Review of the Army by Hitler at the *Zeppelinwiese*.
7:30 P.M.	Continuation and conclusion of the Party Congress. Speaker: Hitler.
12:00 midnight	Taps at the *Deutscher Hof. [Functional music]*

Music was present at most events during the Congress (such as meetings and parades) even if not specified. Some examples of music's role in the1936 program are identified by italics and brackets. The festival elements are interspersed among the political meetings.

FUNCTIONAL MUSIC IN THE FESTIVAL FRAME

Functional music tended to be associated with official aspects of the Congresses and the festival frame remains in play insofar as "joy" and "celebration" were present.

Music contributed to the joyous atmosphere in the festival frame, to the extent that it existed, at the rallies. For example, fanfares announced arrivals or entrances of the *Führer* –inspiring the crowds to cheer --the expression of a joy in beholding their beloved *Führer*.

Functional music articulated form in the Congress. Outside the rallies, ringing church bells created anticipation of the festival celebration and the Congress in general. At the torch-light parade, music provided a constant rhythm for marchers. Taps was performed as a conclusion to the Congress.

OCCASIONAL MUSIC IN THE FESTIVAL FRAME

Occasional music potentially existed in each frame of the performance system and fulfilled its function according to the specific event for which it was written. "Music was directly composed for the solemn occasions of Nazi pageantry, rallies and conventions, composers dedicating so-called "consecration fanfares," inauguration fanfares, cantatas, oratorios and flag songs to the Führer."[32] In the festival frame, the criteria for occasional music was to create a sense of joy and celebration. However, there are few records available which detail the specific occasional pieces played at the Congresses. One example identified by Klaus Vondung is the "Rally for the *Führer*," an oratorio performed at the Congress in 1938 by the Hitler Youth.

Performers included 1000 buglers and drummers, 300 actors and 400 man musical procession and an addition of a giant chorus of 1,600 youths.[33]

Entertainment Music in the Festival Frame

One of the primary means of creating a festive atmosphere for the Congresses was with entertainment music. Different types of entertainment at the Congresses included: folk singing and dancing, musical accompaniment to fireworks displays and music concerts. These included a wide variety of styles from military marches, Beethoven symphonies, familiar patriotic or Nazi songs to Wagner's music drama *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*.

During Congress week, many music concerts were scheduled to provide entertainment with a variety of different styles of music which would have appealed to a large segment of the population. For example, brass bands performed familiar songs and marches at venues around the city. The national symphony orchestra was present at the Congresses from 1935.

Music for folk singing and dancing was designated by the Nazis for use at folk festivals. Its presence at the Congresses is evidence of Nazi recognition of the festival component and its roots in the *Volk*. For example, "a genuine folk festival had to conform to *völkisch* definition and to exclude not [only] "alien" but also serious music, for being incompatible with its gay atmosphere."[34] Similarly, the atmosphere of a country fair was created by a carnival noted on the Congress program of 1936.

The frames of my model of the Nazi Congresses provide different perspectives from which to view the same events within the context of the performance system. As

mentioned in relation to living spectacle for example, music accompanied fireworks displays during the Congresses. At the Party Congress of 1929, around 150,000 spectators watched the fireworks display at the Stadium. "As darkness fell, a brass band flanked by men carrying torches marched into the Stadium...As the finale, a swastika appeared in the evening sky, surrounded by a circle of green leaves and crowned by a huge eagle. Five bands accompanied the crowd as it sang the national anthem."[35] This same example reveals a different role of music when regarded from the perspective of the festival frame. In living spectacle, music accented the visual presentation. Within the festival frame, music contributed to the celebration.

Music concerts did not always contribute to fostering joy and celebration. The performances of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* for example were usually gala events in which invited guests attended with the *Führer*. The event was limited to a select few who ironically had little interest in attending at all. At the first performance of *Die Meistersinger* at a Congress in 1933, the party officials, who (according to Albert Speer), were "diamonds in the rough who had as little bent for classical music as for art and literature," went instead on drinking sprees. Outraged, "Hitler ordered patrols sent out to bring the high party functionaries from their quarters, beer halls, and cafes to the opera house."[36] Hitler ordered compulsory attendance in 1934. "But when the functionaries yawned and snored their way through the performance, even Hitler gave up. Subsequently he invited a more appreciative or at least a less overtly bored audience."[37]

The reasons for *Die Meistersinger's* performance at the Nazi Congresses are clear. It served as a tool for propaganda, the work was set in Nuremberg and

composed by Wagner (whom the Nazis identified as a pioneer of National Socialism and whose work was appropriated for their purposes). The plot of the music drama reflects the pursuit of the true German Lied. A main character, Hans Sachs, had lived in the time of the Meistersingers in medieval Nuremberg and his house was identified by the Nazis and used as a tourist attraction. Even though the average Party member did not appreciate it, *Die Meistersinger* provided the Nazis with a perfect theme work to which they applied their ideology and held up as an example of true German art.

Entertainment music was an important part of the festival frame of the Nazi Congresses and fulfilled the effects of creating the festive mood and light-hearted atmosphere the Nazis desired to off-set the more serious elements of the Congresses.

PARTICIPATORY MUSIC IN FESTIVAL FRAME

Participatory music in the festival frame includes collective singing and dance. Folk dancing was certainly part of the festivities. As the traditional dances were performed, past heritage came to life and the people celebrated in a physical way. Music provided accompaniment to the dances and united the participants.

Song was the principal genre of participatory music at the Nazi Congresses. The people were very familiar with traditional patriotic and Nazi songs through their exposure to propaganda year-round. Therefore, songs could even be performed instrumentally and the people could still relate to the text associated with the music.

Three categories of participatory song were employed at the Congresses for different reasons: the traditional patriotic song, the Nazi fighting song and a special

category reserved for the national anthem, *Deutschland Über Alles* and the *Horst Wessel Lied.*

As we have already noted, the *patriotic songs* inherited from the nineteenth century national festivals expressed love for the German *Volk*, desire for unity and were embedded in the collective memory of the people. The presence of the traditional songs in the Nazi context meant that veneration of the past *Volk* heritage could be celebrated in the present. It also illustrates how the Nazis appealed to the past in an attempt to authenticate their policies and beliefs in the eyes of the German people. Some examples of patriotic songs that found their way to the Nazi Congresses include: *Ich hatt' ein Kamaraden* (I had a Comrade), *Die Wacht am Rhine* (Watch over the Rhine) *and Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?*(What is the German Fatherland?).

Nazi fighting songs were intended to chronicle the history and reflect the spirit of the Nazi movement. Their function was different from the patriotic song of the nineteenth century which inspired expression of a desire for unity not yet achieved. In Nazi Germany, an independent nation already existed. Thus the fighting song not only expressed nationalism, but also Nazi ideology, history of the movement, anti-Bolshevism and Anti-Semitism. The fighting song was more politically charged than the patriotic song and contained propaganda specifically for the regime. Nazi idealism, ideological slogans, group identification, sentimentalism, individual heroism, and worship of the *Fuhrer* were main themes of the fighting songs.[38] Moreover, the fighting song was described by Hans Bajer in *Die Musik* (December, 1936) as "more

encompassing than folk song. The vigorous texts and steel rhythms embodied a power which incited to bravery and the will to sacrifice."[39]

To further encourage the people to express themselves in song with appropriate texts, the Reich sponsored many national song-writing competitions and received thousands of submissions. Not all submissions were fighting songs but they conformed to *völkisch* ideology and/or Nazi content.

In their pursuit of indoctrinating the nation's youth, the Nazis were careful to ensure that youth were well-versed in singing Nazi songs. After coming to power, the Nazis made music-making, particularly singing of folk-songs and Nazi songs, a compulsory part of the education system. Thousands of teachers were trained specifically in the Nazi songs and Hitler Youth organizations frequently gave concerts which were sponsored by the Reich.[40]

The main organizations responsible for the development and dissemination of Nazi fighting songs were the SA and SS. Despite the SA's removal from power in 1934,[41] their songs and performances of them as they marched across Germany had a lasting impact on the people and remained a consistent part of the popular repertoire. The fighting songs were published in *Die Musik* which was controlled by Rosenberg. According to Bajer, a contemporary writer in *Die Musik*,

> entire villages and city sectors were spell-bound by happy singing brown columns...people were most impressed by the new songs which had entered their ears and hearts like a new creed...Already millions look upon the swastika with hope, the day for freedom and bread has dawned. ...As the traditional 'folk song represented the people, the SA represents the nation in song."[42]

Fighting songs of the SA and SS were a part of the Congresses at Nuremberg. Deutschland Erwache (text by Nazi poet Dietrich Eckart and music by Hans Gansser in 1922), for example, was sung at every Congress from its premier in 1923.

Siehst du im Osten das Morgenrot?(Do You See the Sunrise in the East?) is an example of a core song of the Nazi movement identified by Klaus Vondung in *Magie und Manipulation*. The text reveals some main themes of Nazi fighting songs:

Siehst du im Osten das Morgenrot?

Siehst du im Osten das Morgenrot?
Ein zeichen zur Freiheit, zur Sonne!
Wir halten zusammen, ob lebend, ob tot,
Mag kommen, was immer da wolle!
Warum jetzt noch zweifeln? Hört auf mit dem Hadern!
Noch fliesst uns deutsches Blut in den Adern.
Volk, ans Gewehr! Volk ans Gewehr!

Viele Jahre zogen dahin
Gekneckted das Volk und betrogen.
Verrater und Juden hatten Gewinn,
Sie forderten Opfer Legionen.
Im Volke geboren erstand uns ein Führer,
Gab glauben und Hoffnung an Deutschland uns wieder.
Volk ans Gewehr! Volk ans Gewehr!

Deutscher, wach auf und reihe dich ein,
Wir schreiten dem Siege entgegen!
Frei soll die Arbeit und frei wolln wir sein
Und mutig und trotzig-verwegen.
Wir ballen die Fauste und werden es wagen,
Es gibt kein Zurück mehr, und keiner darf zagen!
Volk ans Gewehr! Volk ans Gewehr!

Jugend und Alter, Mann fur Mann unklammen das Hakenkreuznbanner.
Ob Bauer, ob Bürger, ob Arbeitsmann,
Sie schwingen das Schwert und den Hammer,
sie kampfen für Hitler, für Arbeit und Brot.
Deustchalnd erwache!
Und Juda den Tod!
Volk ans Gewehr! Volk ans Gewehr![43]

Do You See the Sunrise in the East?

Do you see the sunrise in the east?
A symbol of freedom, for the sun!
We are united together, in life, in death, whatever may come!
Why still be doubtful? Stop the excuses!
Our German blood still flows in our veins.
Nation to arms! Nation to arms!

Many years ago the people were slaves and deceived.
Traitors and Jews profited, they demanded impossible sacrifices.
Born among the people arose a leader,
To give faith and hope to us and Germany again.
Nation to arms! Nation to arms!

Germans wake up and fall into line, we march towards victory!
Free of work and free we shall be, and brave and proud.
We clench our fists and will take the risk.
There is no going back and no pity!
Nation to arms! Nation to arms!

Youth and elder, man for man embrace the swastika banner.
Whether farmer, bourgeois or worker,
Swing the sword and the hammer,
Fight for Hitler, for work and bread.
Germany awake! And death to the Jews!

Morgenrot articulates some common sentiments among SA and SS *Lieder* such as life and death struggle for Germany and the *Führer*, anti-Semitism, the inclusion of all Germans (whether young or old, workers or middle class) in the fight for Hitler, work and bread. There are many other examples of SA and SS texts that are truly abominable and graphic (which I will not reproduce here).[44]

The final category of participatory song at the Congresses was specially reserved for songs, which by virtue of their significance and identification with Germany and the Third Reich respectively, were regarded on a different plane of significance than others: *Deutschland Über Alles* and the *Horst Wessel Lied*.

The *Horst Wessel Lied* was associated with martyrdom for the Nazi movement. Horst Wessel had been an SA officer in Berlin who was killed by Communists in

February 1930 and had written the song shortly before his death. The Nazis continually employed the *Lied* for several reasons. It was identified more specifically with National Socialism than the national anthem, thus it provided the Nazis with an official song. It was sung at every Party meeting and became a sort of Benediction. Collective performance was compulsory and this ensured that the people shared articulation of the words with their mouths, even if they did not actually sympathize with their meaning. A goal for the Nazis was to unite the people in song, to appeal to their emotions. They took advantage of the compelling story behind the song's composer and the *Horst Wessel Lied* became a symbol of sacrifice and devotion to National Socialism.

The music and text for the national anthem, *Deutschland Über Alles* were written in the nineteenth century. Franz Joseph Haydn wrote the melody as Austria's national anthem to the poem "*Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser*" (1797). This setting was used as Austria's national anthem until the beginning of World War II. In 1922, the melody was officially adopted by Germany with August Heinrich Hoffman von Fallersleben's poem "*Deutschland Über Alles*." Fallersleben had originally combined his words with Haydn's music in 1841.[45]

Both songs became closely associated with ritual as we shall see in chapter four. Nevertheless, in the festival frame they functioned as part of the celebration of National Socialism and the *Volk* at the Party Congresses.

The male chorus had a traditional presence at nineteenth century national and *Volk* festivals. The choruses were also evident at the Nazi Congresses but of course,

were made up of Nazi Party members and performed mainly fighting songs, patriotic songs and participated in National Socialist cantatas and oratorios.

The singing role of the male choruses was adjusted at the Congresses. The Nazis underscored the use of speaking choruses in which the whole assembly of Hitler Youth or Laborers, for example, would recite Nazi slogans or poetry in response to an individual speaker. The speaking chorus was closely linked to the rituals of the Nazis and were used as a mouthpiece for propaganda and National Socialist ideology. Speaking choruses took part in local Nazi celebrations and ceremonies and their effectiveness was remarkable at the Congresses. One of the most powerful images of the film Triumph of the Will, is the speaking chorus of the Labor Organization. Thousands of men proclaim their lines in perfect unison, their words resounded like thunder. In this way, the use of a male chorus at the Congresses lost the air of celebration that its predecessors enjoyed and through the use of the speaking chorus, the 'celebration' of the festival frame became ever more serious and dark.

Chapter Four

Ritual Frame of the Nazi Party Congresses

Ritual performances represented the most serious affairs of the Nazi Party Congresses. The Nazis employed a particular form to their rituals in every meeting year-round which became, in George Mosse's words, a "political liturgy."[1] Their presentation at the Congresses was on a massive scale. Members of Nazi organizations were familiar with the sequence of events associated with political meetings and music was an integral part of the liturgy. Evidence of collective worship of the *Volk* and the *Führer* at the Congresses was most clearly expressed in the formal settings of the rallies.

The characteristics that were particular to Nazi rituals included: the ceremonial marching-in and marching-out of flags, symbols including the flag, the standard, signs and badges bearing the swastika and national emblem, "*Sieg-Heil*!" and greeting of "*Heil-Hitler*" and "*Deutsche Grüss*" with raised arm in the Nazi salute, various uniforms, marches and fighting songs, drums, fanfares, and music.[2]

In this chapter we will explore music's role in the ritual frame of the performance system at the Congresses. Ritual had historical precedence and

purpose at festivals from the nineteenth century. The role of music in the main structure for Nazi rituals is discussed along with specific examples of rituals that developed through the Congresses.

RITUAL:

Ritual is structured and predictable. The specific ritual acts in a Nazi Party Congress were familiar to the people. According to Turner, in the liminal stage, one "enters a ritual time and space that are betwixt and between those ordered by the categories of past and future mundane social existence."[3] The Congress was set apart from all other political activities of the year. The actions that made up the ritual (such as processions, flag-lowering, speeches and singing) contributed to the objective of promoting national unity, Nazi ideas, allegiance to the *Führer*, and collective worship of the *Volk*. The rituals were performed in a predetermined space and the appropriate atmosphere was created by lighting, decoration, processions, formal demeanor, and music.

Turner notes that Arnold van Gennep was one of the first to investigate the nature of ritual.[4] Gennep divided "all rituals that accompany transitions from one situation to another and from one cosmic or social world to another" into three phases: "separation, margin (or limen, denoting 'threshold' in Latin), and reaggregation, for which he also uses the terms "preliminal," "liminal," and "post-liminal."[5] These three phases refer to three aspects a participant experiences in a ritual. As mentioned in chapter one, the participant must become removed from his/her everyday cares of life, and become set apart in some way (such as going to

a particular ritual place). At the Nuremberg Congresses, rituals were performed in various settings such as the Congress Hall or *Zeppelinweise*. The liminal phase refers to the enactment and duration of the ritual. It involves the "communication of the sacra or sacred things...the fostering of *communitas*, a direct, spontaneous and egalitarian mode of social relationship."[6] Nazi rituals created this sense by appealing to the notion of and identification with a common *Volk* heritage. The massive scale and atmosphere surrounding the rituals (such as the Memorial Service), performed primarily at the rallies, also promoted intense feelings of community.

The last, post-liminal phase marks the return of the participant into every-day life, having been changed somehow by the ritual experience. Many who attended the Congresses became enthusiastic and were good agents for propaganda. Even foreigners were influenced by the Nazis at the Congresses. Many observations by the English visitor, John Baker White in Dover-Nürnberg Return suggest positive impressions about the beauty of the spectacles produced at political meetings, the fine organization of the Congresses, the amiable nature of the German people he met in Nuremberg, the incredible emotional effects of the massed gatherings, and an appreciation for the success of National Socialism.

> Blending color, music and highly disciplined bodies of men, things that appeal to almost every German; combining it with a direct appeal to the patriotism that is planted in the hearts of all decent men and women of all nations; using the settings provided by beautiful buildings and nature to make the picture even more striking, the Nazis have produced a disciplined, canalised and emotional appeal.[7]

Of course, not everyone reacted positively to the Nazi Congresses. In Inge Scholl's memoirs, *Die weisse Rose*, she describes her impression of how attending a Congress had changed her friend Hans.

> He was to carry the flag of his troop to the party's national rally at Nuremberg. He was overjoyed. But when he returned we hardly dared trust our eyes. He looked tired, and on his face lay a great disappointment...gradually we learned that the youth movement which there had been held up to him as an ideal image was in reality something totally different from what he had imagined the Hitler Youth to be. There drill and uniformity had been extended to every sphere of personal life...in Nuremberg everything had been done according to the same mold. There had been talk, day and night, about loyalty. But what was the keystone of all loyalty if not to be true to oneself?...My God! There was a mighty upheaval taking place in Hans.[8]

The experience of attending a Congress was indeed powerful and capable of having a lasting impact on participants, whether positive or negative.

The Nazis did not invent the use of ritual in political gatherings. In Germany, rituals held an important place in national festivals. In the first part of the nineteenth century, ritual was present in the national festivals in the form of church services which often concluded a festival celebration.[9] They usually contained themes of patriotism and desire for unity among Germans. Arndt suggested that a memorial service for those who had died in the service of the Fatherland be celebrated as part of a national festival. His ideas were echoed by Friedrich Schleiermacher, a leader in determining the form of Protestant liturgy in Germany. In 1816, the Prussian Church instituted the Celebration of the Glorious Dead. Particular rituals grew out of the memorial and were later to become an integral part of the Nazi liturgy in Congress week.[10] The Nazis used the tradition of remembering the dead as a focal point for emphasizing the glory of sacrifice for the

Fuhrer and Fatherland. Nazi symbols and creed were added and it became a fully developed ceremonial in the Party Congresses.

Schleiermacher's conception of the liturgy and his interest in festival was influential and his basic tenets were widely embraced by Catholicism and Protestantism alike. In order for the religious service to be most effective in the festival setting, "the congregation should not be disoriented by a rapid change in the liturgy. In the appeal to feeling rather than intellect, such stability was necessary for creating and retaining the festive religious mood for heightening religious consciousness."[11] These requirements were also recognized by the Nazis. The content of nineteenth century memorial services became increasingly secularized yet the structure, with music, speeches and dialogue inserted appropriately, was retained.

Arndt expressed his notion of nationalism and its relation to individual behavior and experience. He wrote in 1813:

> I have known misfortune; I have suffered; it has scarcely moved me to tears. But when I have thought of the *Volk* I have always had to weep in the depth of my soul. When a crowd moves before me, when a band of warriors passes by with flowing banners and sounding trumpets and drums, then I realize that my feelings and my actions are not an empty illusion, then it is that I feel the indestructible life, the eternal spirit, and eternal God...Like other men I am egoistic and sinful but in my exaltation I am freed at once from all my sins, I am no longer a single suffering individual, I am one with the *Volk* and God. In such moments any doubts about my life and work vanish.[12]

Arndt reveals the emotional effects of a crowd in a festival context and how an individual can be moved to a desire for unity with the *Volk*: "to Arndt nationalism was not primarily a practical political program or the basis for the broadening of government, but a religious experience, the immersion of the individual into the

security and ecstasy of mass-comradeship."[13] Such expression of fervent nationalism in the company of huge crowds became central elements of the ritual practice of the Third Reich, a practice most visible in the mass rallies at the Congresss.

Mosse describes the fascist political thought as "an attitude rather than a system; it was in fact, a theology which provided the framework for national worship."[14] For many Germans in the 1930's, National Socialism became like a religion, with the *Volk* as its ideal and Hitler as its god. It was even referred to by Germans themselves as a faith. In the 1930's, Erich Edermayer wrote:

> Everywhere friends declare their faith in Adolf Hitler. It is as if an airless stratum surrounds those of us who remain unable to make such avowals. Of my young friends it is the best who now radically proclaim their allegiance to National Socialism. This is not to be denied....One can't even discuss things with them, because they believe. And there are no rational arguments against faith.[15]

George Mosse refers to National Socialism as a 'national cult'. The Nazis attempted to replace organized religion and celebrations with Nazi substitutes: Sunday church services for the 'morning festival' and Christmas for the Winter Solstice among others, are well-known. To strengthen the sense of community with the context of Nazi ideology, the Nazis developed their own rituals from traditional ones.

Structure of Nazi Rituals

The structure of the Nazi political liturgy was fostered in day to day Nazi political meetings. These rituals were reproduced on a larger scale with greater theatrics at the Congresses. In *Magie und Manipulation,* Klaus Vondung has

identified the structure of Nazi rituals. He notes that music was always part of the ritual. For example, see figure 7 for the "Structure of National Socialist Celebrations and Ceremonies." Vondung notes that from the first years of the Third Reich the administration of Reich Propaganda for National Socialist Ceremonies, or *Reichspropagandaleitung für nationalsozialistische Feiern*, developed a standard form to the meetings.[16]

FIGURE 7

Structure for National Socialist Celebrations and Ceremonies[17]
A. Ceremonial flag procession with marching music.
B. Short speaking chorus (the best chorus and solo speaker; soloist speaks and the group follows).
C. Short greeting and introduction of the speakers.
D. Speakers deliver speeches.
E. Short closing remarks with Sieg-Heil followed by:
F. Deutschland and Horst Wessel Lied
G. Short speaking chorus (as at the opening).
H. Ceremonial marching-out of flags.

The Nazis used this standard structure in their meetings and through consistent performance, it acquired the features of ritual. To increase the identification of the

ritual with National Socialism, the Nazis injected particular symbols including their own flags and emblems, the concept of sacred space, speech and music.

Repetitive Elements in Nazi Congresses

This ritual practice influenced the party Congresses but the large-scale events display several additional ritual features. Over the course of the Nazi Congresses, several elements acquired a consistent presence from one year to the next. Some attained the status of fully developed and carefully planned ritual performances, while others became formal trappings of the Congress in general. Figure 8 lists these repetitive elements, highlighting in bold type those that became rituals in their own right.

FIGURE 8

Repetitive Elements in Nazi Party Congresses

Ringing of Church Bells

Opening of Congress: Proclamation by Hitler, always read by someone else

Opening Night Concert at the Opera House

Memorial Service for the Dead

Consecration of Flags

March-past of Various Nazi groups (e.g. Hitler Youth, Army, Workers, SA)

Structure of Rallies and Meetings for Hitler Youth, SA, Labor Front, Army, Women, Party Leaders.

(Singing of *Horst Wessel Lied* and *Deutschland Über Alles*).

Serenade of the *Führer* at Hotel Window

Fireworks display

Dome of Light at Party Leaders' Rallies at night.

The ringing of Church bells, opening night concert, fireworks display, parade, memorial service and patriotic singing are reminiscent of national festivals from the nineteenth century. Other activities including the Consecration of Flags, the Dome of Light, the evening Serenade of the *Führer*, Hitler's proclamation at the opening of the Congress, and the specific structures of rallies and meetings were particular to the Congresses. The distinction between what is considered to be ritual and merely customary relies on the presence of pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal phases. In figure 2, three specific rituals are named: the memorial ceremony, consecration of the flags and the serenade to the *Führer*.

The memorial service rested on the tradition of memorial services celebrated from the nineteenth century in national festivals. Within the Nazi context, the memorial recognized those who had died in the past to secure freedom for the German people, but its emphasis lay in honoring those who had died specifically for the National Socialist movement. The failed *Putsch* of 1923 and the struggles against Communists saw many become heroes in death.

A part of a mass rally held at the *Luitpold Arena,* the Nazi memorial service included assembly of SS and SA formations and spectators and a procession of flags. The roll call of the Party Dead was read after a wreath was laid at the monument in their honor. The service from the 1934 Congress is described in the *Völkischer Beobachter*:

...to the roll of muffled drums the standards were paraded down the middle aisle to the War Memorial. As the assembly stood at attention, Hitler flanked by Lutze

and Himmler, walked slowly down the center aisle to place the wreath at the foot of the monument. After a few moments of silence, the three men turned around and marched back toward the assembly, while the banners were raised and the bands played the *Badenweiler* March.[18]

Nazi flags were present at every meeting and were used to consecrate the proceedings. They were associated with the flag known as the Blood flag that had received stains from martyrs of the movement during the failed *Putsch* of 1923. At the Congresses, a particular ritual, the consecration of flags was developed whereby new banners were touched with the Blood flag to associate them with the origins of and sacrifice for National Socialism. The ceremony took place after the laying of the wreath in the memorial service: Hitler touched new Party flags with the Blood flag. This was followed by collective singing of the national anthem, *Deutschland Über Alles,* and the *Horst Wessel Lied.*

The serenade to the *Führer* can be described in the ritual frame because it was different from a regular music concert in which, as Christopher Small has argued, music is the center of worship.[19] The serenade was designed to center attention around the person of Hitler. The torch-light concert found the crowd in a worshipful atmosphere in which the music was dedicated to the *Führer* who was the focus and recipient of worship.

SACRED SPACE AND STAGING

Sacred space was another important element that contributed to the effectiveness of the Nazi ceremonies. The *Zeppelinwiese* for example, is most well-known for being turned into a "cathedral of light" at the night-time rallies of the

party leaders. Albert Speer designed the effect with 130 army search lights strategically placed around the field. When the spears of light were aimed skyward, it seemed as though the field was surrounded by huge Greek columns. The lights were so bright that, as mentioned in chapter one, the glow in the sky could be seen as far away as Frankfurt. The tops of thousands of flags and standards carried by party members were fitted with gold emblems. When the spotlights were turned toward the field, they sparkled and shone to increase the visual effect. In addition, huge flags were draped from the towers and huge torches burned at the edge of the field. At the Congresses in particular, great pains were taken to ensure that the appropriate atmosphere was created for the ceremonies.

The Nazis' staging of rallies in Nuremberg has been described as Wagnerian. Their approach was similar to Wagner's but the rallies were realized on a different scale. In Wagner's work at Bayreuth, he had attempted, through his *Gesamtkunstwerk* or total artwork, to unite the actor and audience in a worshipful mood by creating a kind of illusion on stage based on the appropriate music and staging.[20] At Bayreuth and in the opera house in Nuremberg this was achieved on a small scale. At the rallies on the other hand, the Nazis used their own combination of staging, symbols, lighting, movement and music to create a sought-after illusion on a much greater scale. According to Benno von Arendt, the official stage designer for the Reich (*Reichsdramaturg*), "the task of staging is to produce the highest possible sense of illusion for the audience, and thus to fulfill their dreams."[21] He used simple designs which focused attention of the speaking platform. It was surrounded with flags, raised high above the crowd and at night,

was illuminated by spotlights. The Nazis' use of the total artwork principle can be related to the notion of the complex performance system described by my model in chapter one. The components of the system worked together to create an illusion uniting actors and audience (consciously or unconsciously) with the *Volk* --under the covering of National Socialism.

As indicated by the structure outlined by Vondung in figure 1, the spoken word was of utmost importance to the Nazi ceremonies. It provided communication of Nazi ideas, doctrine and beliefs. Moreover, the vocabulary that the Nazis used in their ceremonies was religious in nature including phrases like "*Die Fahne ist unser Heiligtum*" ("The flag is our holy symbol") and "*Heilig ist das Blut*" (Holy is the blood). Rhyme patterns, word sounds and their associations, figurative language and repetition all contributed to the religious nature of the spoken word in the context of Nazi ceremonies.[22]

The manner in which the spoken word was integrated into the ceremonies is similar to the Christian liturgy.[23] The solo speaker represented the role of the priest, and the chorus represented the congregation. The following is an example of a formal responsorial from the Labor Rally of 1936:

> From the loud-speaker in the center of the grandstand, a clear voice sounded over the field: "Once a year the spade shall rest. Once a year there comes for us time to stand before our *Führer*, for whom we work day by day. In this hour, new faith is kindled."
> "We are ready" responded the regiments in chorus.
> After the whole assembly had sung a song, the voice again chanted:
> "No one is too good..." and the men, standing with their hands clasped on their grounded spades, completed the sentence: "to work for Germany."
> No one is too humble..." "to work for Germany," came the response from the ranks again. "Each has the right and each has the duty..." "to work for Germany, the Fatherland."...

"The Führer wants to give the world peace." "Wherever he leads, we follow."... They joined in another song...[24]

The most common make-up of lines for the speaking chorus was repetition of simple phrases. They were easily memorized and had a great effect when executed with precision.

At the Labor Service Rally in the 1934 Congress, the spoken responses demonstrated a theme similar to Arndt's *Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?* from chapter three:

Chorus: Here we stand. We are ready. Forward with Germany to a new era. *Deutschland.*
Solo: Komrade! Where are you from?
Different solo voices answer: from Frisia. Bavaria. Kaiserstuhl. Pomerania. Konigsberg. From Silesia. The Sea coast. The Black Forest. Dresden. Danube. Rhine and from the Saar.
Chorus: One People. One *Führer*. One Reich! *Deutschland!*[25]

The similarity between Arndt's patriotic song and this excerpt lies in the identification of the various regions represented by German-speaking people and a desire for their unity. In Arndt's case, his words reflected a desire for political unity that did not yet exist. In the Nazi context, an independent German nation was a reality (whether or not its boundaries were satisfactory to the Nazis). For the Nazis, desire for a German state was replaced with an idealistic unity of the German race.

In some ways, especially at the Congresses, the framework, the setting and atmosphere surrounding the delivery of speeches, were often more impressive than the words themselves.[26] Many speakers tended to be boring and long-winded and it was sometimes difficult for the crowds to follow their speeches.

The remarkable exception to these speakers was Hitler. His style was extremely effective in exciting large crowds. This is owing in part to his status as the *Führer*, his gifts as an orator and the significance in form and style that he gave to his speeches. For example, Hitler waited for complete silence before saying his first word and if there were cheers or applause following one of his statements, he merely raised his hand for complete silence in which he continued to speak.[27] In the film Triumph of the Will, there are several examples of Hitler's speaking style. He tended to speak very slowly and quietly at first, building intensity and volume as the speech progressed. Later, as he himself became more excited, he would become physically agitated, pounding his fist on the podium and almost barking into the microphone. In keeping with the propaganda perspective of the film, images of Hitler's audiences reveal the captivated faces of people listening intently to every word. When the speech concluded, the ecstatic voices of several hundred thousand people would shout "*Sieg Heil.*" The content of the speeches contained familiar themes of the Nazi's disdain for Jews and Communists and of the praise for the supposed superiority of the Aryan people. The speeches were central to the rallies and rites of the Congresses.

Music's Role in Ritual at the Nazi Congresses

Music helped to create invisible thresholds between phases of the ritual experience as well as created atmosphere and helped to set the tone. Present at each phase of the ritual process, music not only contributed to the general

atmosphere of the Nazi rallies, it helped to create thresholds between these phases. Its role preceding and following the ritual performance was similar, as music accompanied the comings and goings of ritual participants. In the pre-liminal phase for example, as we have seen in Chapter 2, bands or orchestras performed what amounted to background music while the formations assembled on the *Zeppelinwiese*, Luitpold Arena or Congress Hall. Similarly, in the post-liminal phase, music accompanied the formations of ritual participants as they marched out of the ritual space such as parades or torch-light processions which often followed the meetings.

Within the central, liminal phase, music was integral to the Nazi ceremonial structure. It provided form to the ritual by accompanying the marching-in of the flags, breaking up speeches, was part of collective singing of the national anthem and the *Horst Wessel Lied* and was used as the conclusion of the ceremony as the flags were marched out of the sacred space.

Instrumental music was important in Nazi rituals to set the mood and create the appropriate atmosphere. The organ was used to set a worshipful atmosphere and the Nazis associated its effects with church music.[28] Organs were sometimes present in the sacred space of everyday Nazi meetings and at Nuremberg a gigantic electric organ was built in the Congress Hall. Muffled drums accompanied the march to the Tribune by Hitler during the Memorial Ceremony.

LIMINAL PHASE AND MUSIC

In the liminal phase of the ritual process, music became a part of the ceremonial and ritual performance. Music was used as accompaniment to the actions of the ritual, such as the procession of flags and standards at the Memorial Service. Music was played after speeches and sung collectively, as in the case of the national anthem and the Party song.

In this context, music promoted and articulated collective worship, unity, and adulation of the leader. Specific music was chosen to accompany particular events and situations. As mentioned earlier, the *Badenweiler March* was always played at Hitler's entrances and exits at the rallies; it became a sort of theme music that represented the *Führer*'s presence in sound.

Other songs with long traditions were often sung collectively at the demonstrations. At the opening session of the 1933 Congress for example, following the performance of the overture to Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*, "the whole convention rose and sang the *Netherlands Hymn of Thanksgiving*"[29] which was sung at nearly all national festivals from one of the earliest gatherings at the Wartburg castle in 1813 and was enveloped in tradition. The Nazis tried to change some of the text to suit their purposes, but often the traditional wording prevailed.[30]

Core songs of the Nazi movement were sung collectively at ceremonies and helped set the tone. According to Vondung, these songs had a similar character and function as collectively sung hymns in church services. Themes of the songs included "the flag," "the *Führer* and *Volk*," "struggle and faith," and "confession of

faith."[31] These songs articulated Nazi ideology and when sung collectively in a ritual setting, increased the feeling of *communitas*. Moreover, participation in the ritual was very effective in making the content of the message more personal. Each individual was not only expected to sing the words, but in most cases had committed them to memory.

In the context of a Nazi ritual, music not only became part of the liminal phase, but also a symbol of it. In "Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality," Edward Schieffelin discusses a widely shared perspective on the efficacy of ritual symbols. He states "the major premise is that symbols are effective because they somehow formulate or make sense of particular, often problematic, cultural, or psychological situations and then reframe, transform, or intensify this "sense," leading to a new orientation of the participants to their situation."[32] Music, in this sense became a symbol and was the means through which the mass crowds could experience such intense emotions at a Nazi ritual.

Let us consider for example, the implications of the assembled masses singing *Deutschland Über Alles* at a rally. The anthem, when shared by the participants in this context, becomes a symbol of the ritual that unites the people. Moreover, Schiefellin quotes Sherry Ortner's discussion of ritual symbol: "As actors participate in or employ symbolic constructs, their attitudes and actions become oriented in the direction embodied in the form and content of the construction itself; the construct --the model if you will --makes it difficult for them to "see" and respond to the situation in a different way."[33] Ortner's description explains those images of enthralled masses joining in the worship of

their nation and their leader. They were unwilling, or perhaps unable to behave otherwise given their participation in the liminal phase of the ritual experience. Ritual reached the group and individual in a most powerful way. The people were so absorbed in Nazi rituals, symbols and ideology in the liminal phase that they could not see outside the frame. To an outsider, their behavior was both unusual and intense. The intensity of this liminal experience helped cement the crowd's self-identity as the *Volk*. The people, the *Volk*, form the center of the ritual frame of the Congress. They are not only the actors and participants in the liminal phase of ritual, but also its focus –no longer as a crowd of individuals, but as the *Volk* itself.

Music heightened the sense of community achieved in the liminal phase. For example, the finale of the last rally at the 1937 Party Congress is described in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, September 13, 1937 : "As in the past, Wagnerian music, emotional speeches, and military displays were used to bring the rally to a rousing finish."[34] A *New York Times'* correspondent describes his impressions:

> Chancellor Hitler's final exhortation to his cohorts in the *Luitpoldhalle* only a few hours ago was widely broadcast for the benefit of those the hall would not hold. To every hotel lounge a loudspeaker carried his earnest tones. This hotel, temporarily taken over by working journalists, including correspondents from almost every nation, was no exception. As the cheers from the hall following the "Sieg Heil" with which he concluded died away, the hotel audience...rose to its feet with arms raised in the Nazi salute and joined in the emotional singing of "*Deutschland*" followed by the *Horst Wessel Lied*. It was typical of the end of eight days of steadily mounting excitement that words fail adequately to describe.[35]

This description illustrates how the climax of the event was released through collective musical expression.

Collective performance of the two most symbolic songs in Nazi Germany, the national anthem and the *Horst Wessel Lied,* created a moment of unity between the participants and audience. It was the high point of the ritual and was surely intended to be so by the Nazis. In song, the individual sang and reproduced the words and music which were symbolic to the people. Singing allowed individuals to participate in the mass articulation of the symbols themselves. This song realizes what Mosse terms "interdependence...cemented by symbolic action."[36]

Music, separated from the emotionally charged context of the liminal phase of ritual, is powerful enough to invoke emotional response in participants outside the ritual context. As a symbol of the ritual, it has the capacity to be removed from its ritual context and maintain its ritual associations. Michael Myers discusses an interview of Toni Ungerer, an Alsacian painter "who referred to the Nazi songs as a drug which still many years later (before the time of the interview in 1981), he would sing in order to help him overcome the blues. Noting the reliability of the therapy, he related the medicinal quality of these uplifting Nazi songs, which had a hold of his brain for twenty or thirty years, to heroin's staying power in the blood."[37] Experience of the ritual context becomes a prerequisite for a full appreciation of music's role in ritual and comes before music can be separated from the original ritual context. It is impossible for those of us who did not live in Nazi Germany to fully grasp the power of music in the Nazi rituals. Instead we are forced to recognize its potential.

Chapter 5

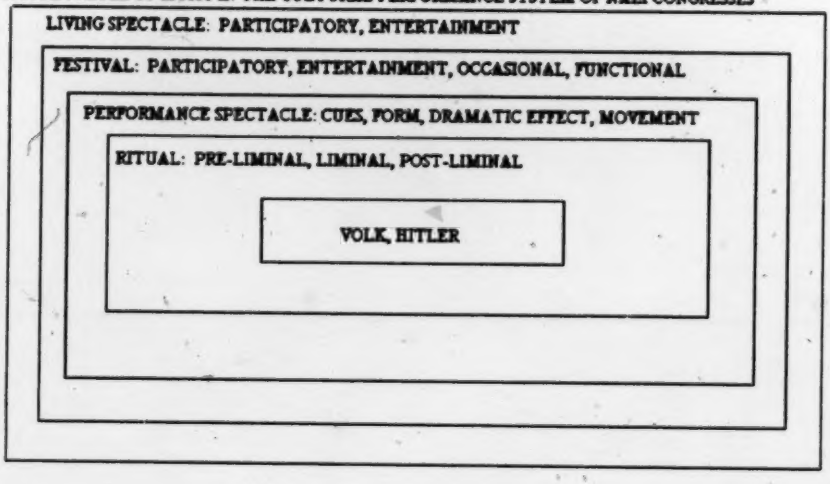
Music and the Performance System of the Nazi Party Congresses

The Nazi Party Congresses at Nuremberg comprised a complex performance system that can be analyzed through the concepts of living spectacle, performance spectacle, festival and ritual. Each component had characteristics of its own, yet ultimately supported the whole. In chapters two to four, the frames of the model were examined separately to show the role of music within them. See figure 9 for a depiction of the role of music in the frames of the system. In each chapter, I also noted the centrality of the *Volk* in the frame. As defined in chapter one, the *Volk* represented the German people, past and present, united in a common language, history and racial heritage. The *Volk* is at the core of my model for the Congresses because it was central to National Socialist ideology and political liturgy.

Each individual frame can be linked by music to the center of the system. The Nazis ensured, either by direct proclamation or strict implication, that music included at the Congresses was German. Music united living spectacle, festival, performance spectacle and ritual of the Congresses with the *Volk* at the center

because, according to Nazi ideology, the music, whether it was a patriotic song, military march or a work by an esteemed German composer, was derived from the *Volk*.

FIGURE 9: ROLE OF MUSIC IN THE CULTURAL PERFORMANCE SYSTEM OF NAZI CONGRESSES


LIVING SPECTACLE: PARTICIPATORY, ENTERTAINMENT
FESTIVAL: PARTICIPATORY, ENTERTAINMENT, OCCASIONAL, FUNCTIONAL
PERFORMANCE SPECTACLE: CUES, FORM, DRAMATIC EFFECT, MOVEMENT
RITUAL: PRE-LIMINAL, LIMINAL, POST-LIMINAL
VOLK, HITLER

We can also regard the model in a slightly different way. Just as music links each frame of the system with the *Volk*-center, music also provides for an amalgamation of related members of the system. I suggest that music is a unifying element in combining the festival and living spectacle frames and the ritual and performance spectacle frames. This is primarily possible by virtue of the huge scale

of the Congresses. Festival on massive scale becomes living spectacle; ritual on a massive scale becomes performance spectacle.

In the Congresses, living spectacle and festival are closely related: the former depends on the existence of the latter. Once we view the festival frame from the perspective of its massive proportions, its amalgamation with and transformation into living spectacle occurs. That is, living spectacle comes into existence only by virtue of the massive scale of festival. The spontaneity associated with the living spectacle is immediately linked with festival celebrations in which, for the most part, the actions of the people were not choreographed in advance. As a result, the festival takes on the additional characteristics of living spectacle. It becomes something to be seen with movement, color, grandness of scale, and inter-play between actors and audience who are united by virtue of their participation in the festival.

Living spectacle would not exist without festival. Without the activities of festival such as fireworks, folk-dancing, ancient dress, flags, flowers, musical performances and the people's celebrations associated with festival, it would be reduced to represent every-day life.

Music, as part of the festival celebration, contributed to the formation of living spectacle including the categories of participatory, entertainment, occasional and functional. The sum of the localized music performances in the festival contributed to the formation of living spectacle: music served the amalgamated frame on a micro-level.

Ritual and Performance Spectacle

The relationship between ritual and performance spectacle in the Congresses is more independent than living spectacle and festival. Performance spectacle could exist without ritual associations and likewise, ritual could exist without suggestions of spectacle. Yet, by virtue of the methods the Nazis employed at a Congress, performance spectacle was more powerful and had a greater impact on the people because it was associated with ritual. Similarly, the rituals experienced at the rallies were the same format as those regularly reproduced throughout Nazi Germany. For those who experienced the ritual in the spectacle context, it undoubtedly acquired a new and greater significance. This process seems to have been intended by the Nazis. They planned larger scale versions of the rituals from one Congress to another and Nazi symbols and ideology penetrated the people's consciousness in ever-greater numbers.

Ritual became performance spectacle by virtue of the scale in which it was carried out. The Nazis continually expanded the proportions in which their liturgy was performed. They increased the size of their sacred space, included ever-greater numbers of actors and expanded seating capacity for spectators, increased the number of flag and standard bearers along with numbers of musicians and bands.

When we regard the combination of the two frames, music's role is apparent. The role of music in giving cues, creating form, providing for movement, increasing dramatic effect and unifying actors and audience from the performance spectacle frame is more striking when regarded in a union with ritual.

From this perspective, one can understand more fully the impact of Nazi ritual in the context of spectacle. As a result, the meaning of the Congress system becomes even more ominous: they were huge exhibitions of how spectators who came "just to watch" a spectacle could become involved in experiencing National Socialist rituals.

Music provided a unifying element between the ritual and performance spectacle. As noted in chapter four, when an individual participates in the ritual experience, he experiences a feeling of *communitas* or community that bonds him to the situation. When placed in the context of the spectacle of a mass rally, where the only obligation is to watch, the atmosphere created by sacred words, sacred space and sacred music (the national anthem or the *Horst Wessel Lied*) became inescapable.

The Nazi Congresses were both awe-inspiring and horrifying in their displays of human regimentation, clever manipulation and use of tradition for Nazi purposes. Millions of Germans attended the Congresses in Nuremberg from 1927-1938. Many more saw the Congress through the eyes of film-footage such as Triumph of the Will. The film was useful propaganda and helped to convey the experience of a Congress even to those who did not attend the event itself. Whatever the case, most people failed to see behind the veil of National Socialism and if they did, they failed to react forcefully enough to stop the movement.

Music ultimately united the actors and audience in the performance system of the Congresses. Hundreds of thousands in the crowds at one time could view

themselves as the *Volk* on a more profound level than if the Nazis had never held the Congresses. This notion reinforces the significance of the *Volk* as the center of the system.

Music is a unifying element in the performance system of the Nazi Party Congresses because music transcended the frame boundaries, unifying the whole system around the center of the *Volk*. Just as the *Volk* represented the German people past and present, their common history, race and heritage, music also became part of this identity in the context created by the Nazis at the Congresses. The Nazis used music as a tool to achieve responses from the people. The crowds and participants shared in collective singing, were entertained and emotionally moved by German music. In the Congress context, music exemplified the creative character of the *Volk* as defined by the Nazis and in this way, music itself may also come to stand for the center of the performance system in association with the *Volk*.

Chapter One

[1] Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies 1923-30 (New York, 1967): 159.
[2] Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 159.
[3] John Baker White, Dover-Nürnberg Return (London, 1937): 34-35.
[4] Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 115.
[5] Victor Turner, "Liminality and the Performative Genres," in Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle (Philadelphia, 1984): 22.
[6] MacAloon, "Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies," Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle (Philadelphia, 1984): 259.
[7] MacAloon, "Olympic Games" Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: 260.
[8] MacAloon, "Olympic Games" Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: 243.
[9] MacAloon, "Olympic Games" Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: 243-244.
[10] MacAloon, "Olympic Games" Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: 243.
[11] MacAloon, "Olympic Games" Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: 246.
[12] John Baker White, Dover-Nurnberg Return (London, 1937): 33.
[13] Organization plan of the rallies, Nuremberg Archives, No. 4971.8 cited by Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 119.
[14] John MacAloon, "Olympic Games," Rite , Drama, Festival, Spectacle: 246.
[15] Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, Werke* 7: 257 cited by H.J. Hahn in German Thought and Culture (New York, 1995): 71.
[16] Wilhelm Stuckart and Hans Globke, *Kommentare zur deutschen Rassengesetzgebung* (Munich, Berlin, 1936), Vol. I: 20-26, 28-30 cited by George Mosse in Nazi Culture: 328-329.
[17] Wilhelm Stuckart and Hans Globke, *Kommentare zur deutschen Rassengesetzgebung* (Munich, Berlin, 1936), Vol. I: 20-26, 28-30 cited by George Mosse in Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich (New York, 1966): 328-329.
[18] George Mosse in Nazi Culture: 319.
[19] George Mosse, Nationalization of the Masses (New York, 1975): 11.
[20] "The 'stab-it-the-back' legend developed from the way the First World War ended. On November 10, 1918 the German Kaiser abdicated and fled, resulting in surrender and the signing of an armistice in Compiegne, France. The myth that the German army could have won the war but was 'stabbed in the back' by traitors at home was to undermine the Weimar Republic" and allow for Hitler's coming to power. William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (London, 1987): 21.
[21] Werner Maser, Hitler's *Mein Kampf:* An Analysis (London, 1970): 24-27.
[22] Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 64.
[23] German news bureau cited by Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 165.
[24] Information from the Bavarian Radio quoted by Hamilton Burden in Nuremberg Party Rallies: 61-62.
[25] Guide to the Buildings of the Party Grounds (Nuremberg, 1937) cited by Hamilton Burden in Nuremberg Party Rallies : 58-59.
[26] The precise number of spotlights fluctuates depending on the source from 130 to 150. Albert Speer was responsible for the *Zeppelinwiese* night rally design; he states that there were 130 lights around the field. Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich: Memoirs translated by Richard and Clara Winston (New York, 1970): 59.
[27] *Völkischer Beobachter*, September 7, 1936 cited by Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 60.
[28] Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 5.
[29] Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 9.

[1] John MacAloon, "Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies," Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle (Philadelphia, 1984): 269.
[2] George Mosse, Nationalization of the Masses, (New York, 1975): 2.
[3] Le Bon was very influential in his time and his work on crowd theory is considered to be significant even today. However, Le Bon's work does contain contradictions and racial considerations of crowd behavior. Its framework was sufficiently loose so as to be easily adapted to Nazi ideology. Peter Hayes points out that (according to Le Bon and Hitler) the assumption that the masses are highly emotional and of limited intelligence are very similar to the long-established elite view of the masses as the *mobile vulgus*, the turbulent common people. Hayes concludes that "given this similarity, and given that the techniques described by the crowd theorists were already used, if not admitted to, by other political orators, it might be concluded that...the crowd theorists provided the fascists with an understanding of the masses that was already known to elitist politicians who engaged in populist rhetoric." Peter Hayes, "The Emergence of the Crowd: Gustave Le Bon and the Fascist Concept of the Masses," The People and the Mob: The Ideology of Civil Conflict in Modern Europe (London, 1992): 66.
[4] Gustave Le Bon, The Crowd. A Study of the Popular Mind (London, 1897) cited by Werner Maser in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*: An Analysis (London, 1970): 76.
[5] Gustave LeBon, "The Mind of Crowds," Readings in Collective Behavior (Chicago, 1975): 18.
[6] Gustave LeBon, "The Mind of Crowds," Readings in Collective Behavior (Chicago, 1975): 14.
[7] John MacAloon, "Olympic Games," Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: 269.
[8] John Baker White, Dover-Nurnberg Return (London, 1937): 37-38.
[9] Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 50.
[10] Documentation of spontaneous music is found in passing references in individual accounts of the Congresses and to my knowledge not officially recorded by the Nazis.
[11] Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 102.
[12] George Mosse, Nationalization of the Masses (New York, 1975).
[13] Wilhelm von Schramm, *Neubau des deutschen Theaters* (Berlin, 1934): 55, 39-40, 41, 42 cited by George Mosse, Nationalization of the Masses (New York, 1975): 116.
[14] Laban was influenced by military parades from World War I and wanted to combine the notion of "festive restraint" with modern dance. He became founder and ballet master of the Prussian state theaters and left Germany in 1936 for exile in England, continuing his work through the Ballet Joos. George Mosse, Nationalization: 157.
[15] George Mosse, Nationalization.
[16] From Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 154.
[17] *New York Times*, September 13, 1936 from Hamilton Burden, Nuremberg Party Rallies: 129.
[18] New York Times, September 11, 1936 cited by Hamilton Burden in Nuremberg Party Rallies: 128
[19] "A report supplied to the author" Hamilton Nuremberg Party Rallies: 102.

[1] For further information regarding the development of the national festival in Germany from the nineteenth century to the Third Reich see George Mosse, Nationalization of the Masses, (New York, 1967).

[2] George Mosse, Masses and Man: Fascist Perceptions of Reality (New York, 1980): 111.

[3] Some examples of important dates for the Nazis include Hitler's Birthday on April 20, the November 9, 1923 failed attempt at a Putsch and their January 30, 1933 ascension to power.

[4] George Mosse, Nationalization: 75-77.

[5] Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, "Deutches Volkstum," *Werke*, volume 1: 315-316, 323 cited by George Mosse in Nationalization: 82.

[6] Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany: the Education of Nation (New York, 1960): 87.

[7] George Mosse, Nationalization: 75-76.

[8] Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Ein Lebensbild in Briefen*, edited by Heinrich Meisner and Robert Geerds (Berlin, 1898) cited by Alfred G. Pundt in Arndt and the Nationalist Awakening in Germany (New York, 1968): 120-121.

[9] James Milton Brinkman, The German Male Chorus: Its Role and Significance from 1800-1850 Dissertation, University of Illinois (Ann Arbor, 1966).

[10] The descriptions of the events include music in conjunction with other activities. Folk Festival Committee, *Stadtarchiv Heidelberg, Uraltaktei, Konvolut* 204: 3 cited by Harald Pfeiffer in *Heidelberger Musikleben in der ersten Halfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg 1989): 160.

[11] The description of the festival are in narrative form and also include information regarding the music that was evident at various activities. Veit Valentin, *Das Hambacher Nationalfest* (Berlin, 1932): 36-37.

[12] Veit Valentin, *Das Hambacher Nationalfest* (Berlin, 1932): 36-37.

[13] George Mosse, Nationalization: 85.

[14] James Milton Brinkman, The German Male Chorus: 92.

[15] Information from James Milton Brinkman, The German Male Chorus: 92.

[16] James Milton Brinkman, The German Male Chorus: 92.

[17] *Die Lieder aller Volker und Zeiten* edited and collected by Hans Grabow (Hiddenhausen, 1978): 34-35.

[18] This text has deviations depending on the source. The two sources that are the closest and most consistent are *Lieder aller Völker und Zeiten* edited and collected by Hans Grabow (Hiddenhausen, 1978): 34-35 and National, Patriotic and Typical Airs of All Lands, edited by John Philip Sousa (New York, 1977): 110-112. I translated the last stanza to more accurately reflect the meaning of the German text.

[19] Harald Pfeiffer, *Heidelberger Musikleben in der ersten Halfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1989): 85.

[20] James Milton Brinkman, The German Male Chorus: 174.

[21] Raymond A. Barr, "Carl Friedrich Zelter," New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (New York, 1983): 663.

[22] Karl Friedrich Zelter, quoted by Walter Dürr in notes to Franz Schubert "Weltliches Vokalwerk," translated by Geoffery Child (1981 EMI SLS5220 1 c 157-43 130/34)..

[23] George Mosse, Nationalization : 137.

[24] Hans Nägeli cited by George Mosse in Nationalization: 138.

[25] Ernst Moritz Arndt quoted by Walter Dürr in notes to Franz Schubert "Weltliches Vokalwerk," translation by Geoffery Child (1981 EMI SLS5220 1 c 157-43 130/34).

[26] James Milton Brinkman, The German Male Chorus: 125.

[27] George Mosse, Nationalization: 136-148.

[28] See James Milton Brinkman, The German Male Chorus: Appendices for a brief catalogue of male chorus works for the church.

[29] Cecilia Hopkins-Porter, "The New Public and the Reordering of the Musical Establishment: The Lower Rhine Music Festivals, 1818-1867," Nineteenth Century Music (1980): 212.

[30] *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Sängerbundes* (Dresden, 1926): 19 cited by George Mosse in Nationalization: 143.

[31] Hamilton Burden, The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 181-184.

[32] Michael Meyer, The Politics of Music: 285.

[33] Klaus Vondung, *Magie und Manipulation* (Gottingen, 1971): 150

[34] Michael Meyer, The Politics of Music: 284

[35] Hamilton Burden, The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 50.

[36] Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich: Memoirs translated by Richard and Clara Winston (New York, 1970): 59.

[37] Frederic Spotts, Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival (New Haven, 1994): 165.

[38] For more information and examples of Nazi fighting songs see Michael Meyer, The Politics of Music: 64-73; *SS Liederbuch* (Munich, 1941); *Blut und Ehre Lieder der Hitler-Jugend* (Berlin, 1933); Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich* (Gutersloh, 1963).

[39] Hans Bayer, *Die Musik* (December 1936 and January 1937) cited by Michael Meyer, The Politics of Music: 65

[40] Michael Meyer, The Politics of Music: 64-73.

[41] Leader of the SA, Ernst Roehm and close followers were assassinated because the SA wanted more power than the army. Hitler recognized the importance of having the army's support to retain power in Germany, so he ordered the SA to take leave in early June and to report back to duty in August. Hitler secretly had his opponents in the SA killed on the evening of June 30, 1934. Viktor Lutze became the SA chief of staff. As a result, the SA became less powerful. Hamilton Burden, The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 77.

[42] Hans Bajer, "Lieder machen Geschichte," *Die Musik* (June 1939: 586-597) cited by Micheal Meyer in The Politics of Music: 72.

[43] Words and music by Arno Perdun, 1931, text from *SS Liederbuch*: Munich: *Zentral Verlag* of the NSDAP, 1941: 24-25.

[44] Other examples can be found in Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Ein Dokumentation* (Gutersloh, 1963): 244-248.

[45] Uli Otto, *August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben: Ein Volkslieder-Buch* (New York, 1984): VIII-IX.

[1] George Mosse, Nationalization of the Masses (New York, 1975).

[2] Klaus Vondung *Magie und Manipulation* (Gottingen, 1971): 34.

[3] Victor Turner, "Religious Celebrations," Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual, (Washington,1982): 202.

[4] Victor and Edith Turner, "Religious Celebrations," Celebration: 201-202.

[5] Victor and Edith Turner, "Religious Celebrations," Celebration: 202.

[6] Victor and Edith Turner, "Religious Celebrations," Celebration: 202.

[7] John Baker White, Dover-Nürnberg Return (London, 1937): 63.

[8] Inge Scholl, *Die weisse Rose* (Frankfurt: *Verlag der Frankfurter Hefte*, 1961: 10-15 cited by George Mosse in Nazi Culture (New York, 1966): 273.

[9] George Mosse, Nationalization: 77.

[10] General information from George Mosse, Nationalization.

[11] Christoph Albrecht, *Schleiermachers Liturgik* (Gottingen, 1963): 23, 24 cited by George Mosse in Nationalization: 78.

[12] Ernst Moritz Arndt quoted by Hans Kohn in The Mind of Germany: The Education of a Nation (New York, 1960): 78-79.

[13] Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany: 78-79.

[14] George Mosse, Nationalization: 9.

[15] Erich Ebermayer, *Denn heute hehort uns Deutschland...: Personliches und politisches Tagebuch, von der Machtergreifung bis zum 31 Dezember 1935 (*Hamburg and Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1959): 75-76 cited in Nazi Culture: 385.

[16] Klaus Vondung, *Magie und Manipulation* (Gottingen, 1971): 113.

[17] Vorschlage, 1/202 cited by Klaus Vondung in *Magie und Manipulation* (Gottingen, 1971): 113.

[18] *Volkischer Beobachter*, September, 10, 1934 cited by Hamilton Burden in The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 88.

[19] Christopher Small, "Performance as Ritual: Sketch for an Enquiry into the True Nature of a Symphony Concert." Lost in Music: Culture, Style and the Musical Event. Edited by Avron L. White (London, New York, 1987): 6-33.

[20] George Mosse, Nationalization: 106-110.

[21] Benno von Arendt, *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* (February, 1939): 43 cited by George Mosse in Nationalization: 117.

[22] Klaus Vondung in *Magie und Manipulation* (Gottingen, 1971): 140-144.

[23] Klaus Vondung in *Magie und Manipulation*: 140-144.

[24] *Reichstagung in Nurnberg*, 1936: 78 cited by Burden in The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 125-126.

[25] From Leni Riefenstahl's film, Triumph of the Will (1934).

[26] George Mosse, Nationalization: 9-10.

[27] From Leni Riefenstahl's film, Triumph of the Will, 1934.

[28] Klaus Vondung, *Magie und Manipulation*: 146-147.

[29] New York Times correspondent September 2, 1933 cited by Hamilton Burden in The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 68.

[30] George Mosse, Nationalization: 147.

[31] Core songs of the movement identified by Klaus Vondung in *Magie und Manipulation*: 227-228 Sources include: *Die neue Gemeinschaft. Das Parteiarchiv für nationalsozialistische Feier- und Freizeitgestaltung*, 1943: 306; *Die*

neue Gemeinschaft. Das Parteiarchiv für nationalsozialistische Feier- und Freizeitgestaltung, 1942: 379; *Liederbuch der NSDAP*. (Munich, 1938).

On the flag:

Nun lasst die Fahnen fliegen (Now Let's Fly the Flags; words and music: Hans Baumann)

Auf hebt unsere Fahnen (Lift up the Flags; words: Willi Zorg/music: Fritz Sotke)

Grusset die Fahnen, grüsset die Zeichen (Greet the Flags, Greet the Symbols; words and music: Adolf Seifert)

On the *Fuhrer* and *Volk:*

Erde schafft das Neue (Earth Creates the New; words and music Heinrich Spitta)

Heiliges Feuer brennt in dem Land (Holy Fire Burns in the Land; words and music Will Decker)

Immer, wenn wir zusammenstehen (Always when we Stand Together)

Nun hebt ein neues Marschieren an (Now March to the Dawn of a New Day)

(Die Verfasser konnten nicht ermittelt werden). (Despite every effort, no publisher could be found).

On Struggle and Beliefs:

Ein junges Volk steht auf (A Young Nation Rises; words and music: Werner Altendorf)

Und wenn wir marschieren (And When we March; words and music: Walter Gattke)

In den Ostwind hebt die Fahnen (Raise the Flags to the Easterly Wind; words and music: Hans Baumann)

Nur der Freiheit gehort unser Leben (Our Life Belongs Only to Liberty; words and music: Hans Baumann)

Siehst du im Osten das Morgenrot (Do You See the Sunrise in theEast?; words and music Arno Pardun)

Heute schreiten hunderttausend Fahnen (Today Marches a Thousand Flags; words and music: Fritz Kaiser)

Im deutschen Land marschieren wir (We March in German Land; words: Herbert Hammer music: "Argonnerwald")

Es zittern die morschen Knochen (The Weak Bones are Shaking; words and music Hans Baumann)

Profession of Faith:

Lobet der Berge leuchtende Firne (Praise the Majesty of the Mountains; words: Thilo Scheller music: Georg Blumensaat)

Nichts kann uns rauben (Nothing Can Rob Us; words: Karl Broger music: Heinrich Spitta)

Heilig Vaterland (Holy Fatherland; words: Rudolf Alexander Schroder music: Heinrich Spitta)

Deutschland, heiliges Wort (Germany, Sacred Word; words: Eberhard Wolfgang Moller music: Georg Blumensaat)

Deutschlandlied (national anthem; words" August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben music: Joseph Haydn)

Horst-Wessel-Lied (Horst Wessel Song; words and music: Horst Wessel)

[32] Edward L. Schieffelin, "Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality," American Ethnologist 12/2: 707.

[33] Sherry Ortner, "Sherpas Through Their Rituals," (Cambridge, 1978) quoted by Edward Schieffelin in "Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality," American Ethnologist, 12/2: 707.

[34] *Volkischer Beobachter*, September 13, 1937 cited by Hamilton T. Burden in The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 146.

[35] New York Times, September 15, 1937 cited by Hamilton T. Burden The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 146.

[36] Mosse, Nationalization: 12-13

[37] Michael Meyer, The Politics of Music: 65.

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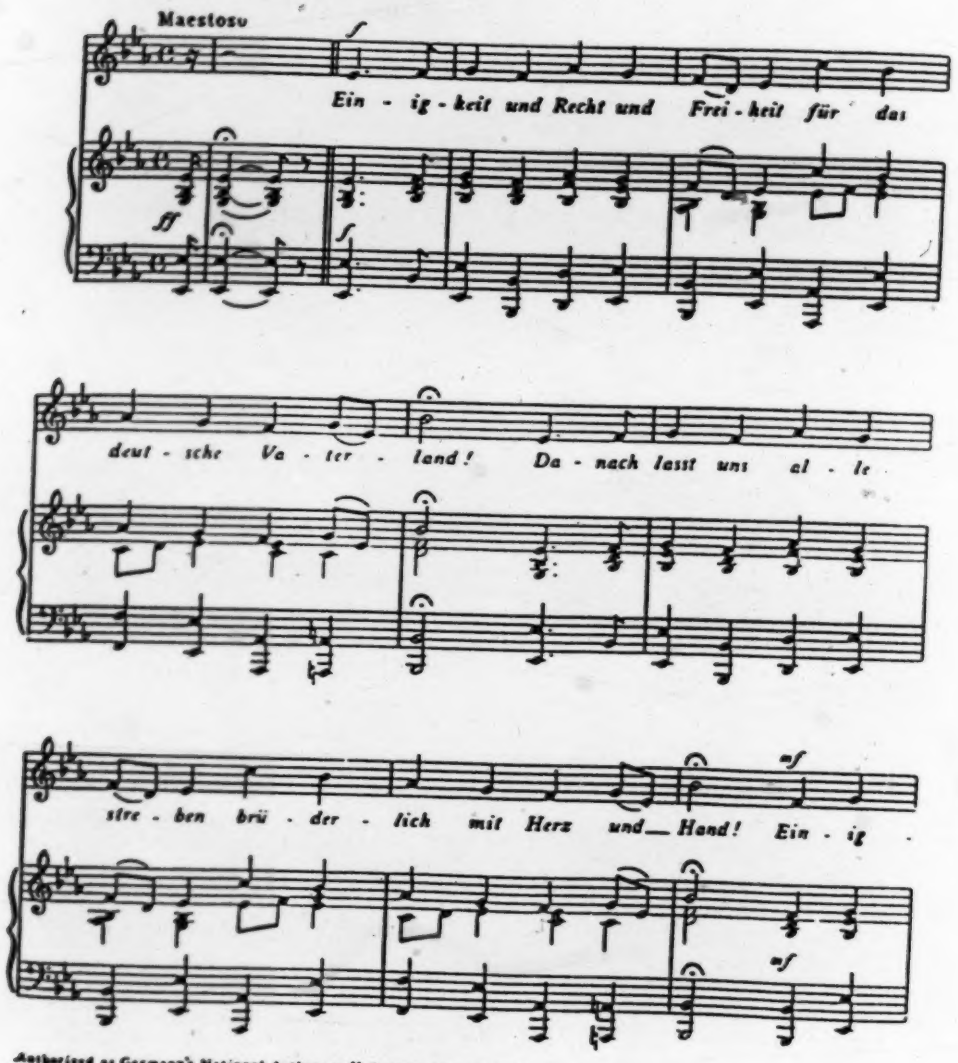
Deutschland Uber Alles

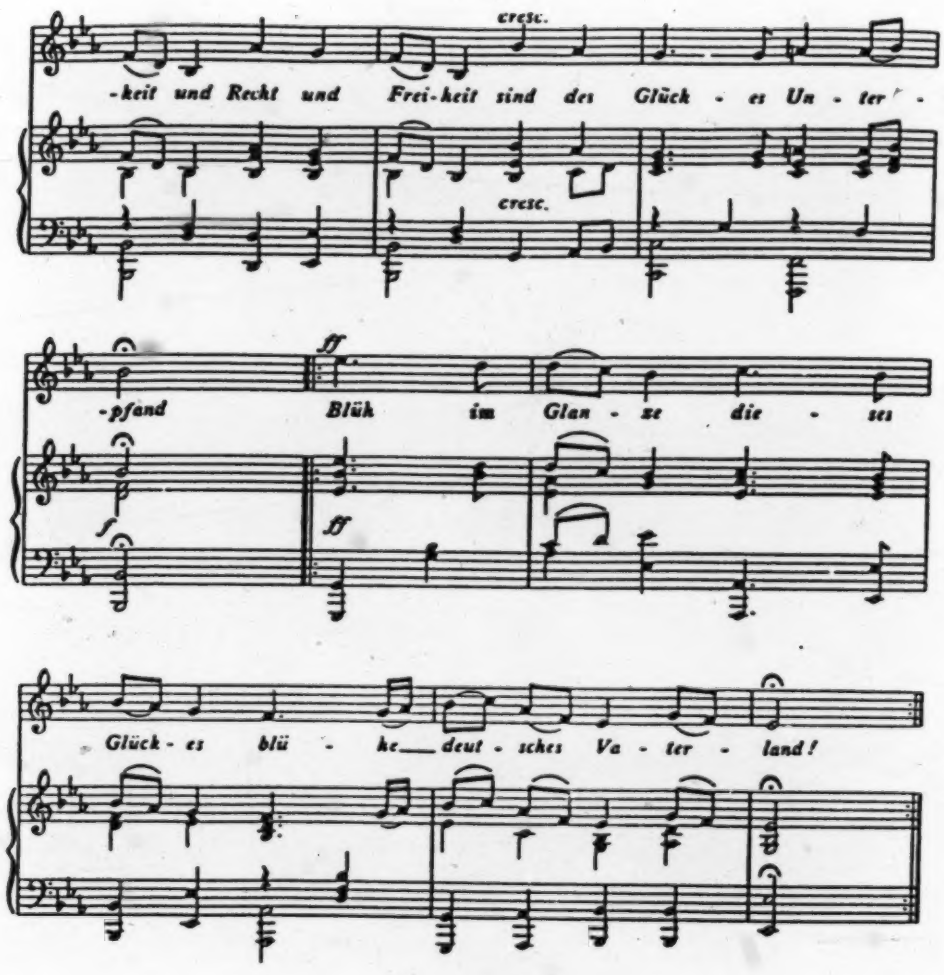
Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles,
Uber alles in der Welt,
Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze
Bruderlich zusammernhalt,
Von der Maas bis an die Memel,
Von der Etsch bis an den Belt -
Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles,
Uber alles in der welt.
Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles,
Uber alles in der welt.

Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang
Sollen in der Welt behalten
Ihren alten schonen Klang,
Uns zu edler Tat begeistern
Unser ganzes Leben lang.
Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang
Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang

See music score for text of the third verse.

German National Anthem: *Deutschland Über Alles*
Words: Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798-1874)
Music: Joseph Haydn (1732-1809)

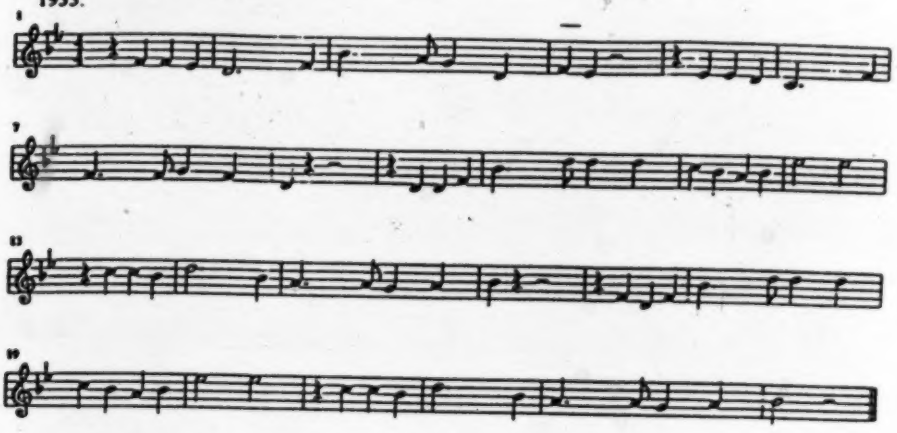
source: National Anthems of the World. Edited by Martin Shaw and Henry Coleman
London: Blandford Press, 1960: 143-144.

Maestoso
Ein - ig - keit und Recht und Frei - heit für das
deut - sche Va - ter - land! Da - nach lasst uns al - le
stre - ben brü - der - lich mit Herz und Hand! Ein - ig

Authorized as Germany's National Anthem on 11 August, 1922 when the first verse of Heinrich von Fallersleben's poem was sung. In 1950 the Federal Republic adopted the third verse fastened as the official words.

cresc.
-keit und Recht und Frei-keit sind des Glück - es Un - ter -
cresc.
ff
-pfand Blüh im Glan - ze die - ses
f
ff
Glück - es blü - he deut - sches Va - ter - land!

Free Translation

Unity and right and freedom
for the German fatherland;
let us all pursue this purpose
brotherly, with heart and hands.
Unity and right and freedom
are the pawns of happiness.
Bis { Flourish in this blessing's glory
{ flourish, German fatherland

Horst Wessel Lied
Words and music: Horst Wessel
source: *Blut und Ehre Lieder der Hitler-Jugend*. Berlin. *Deutscher-Jugend Verlag*, 1933.



Horst Wessel Lied

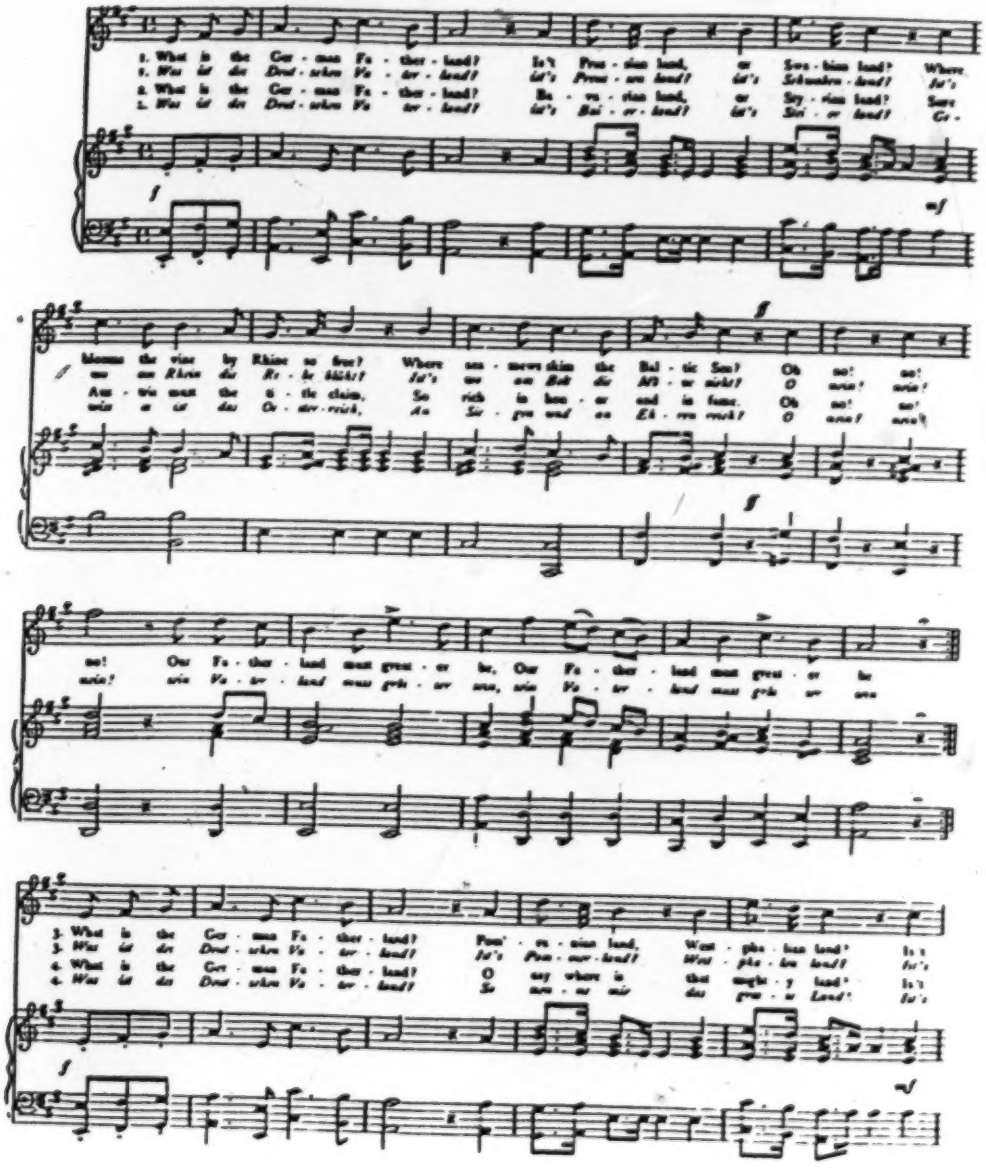
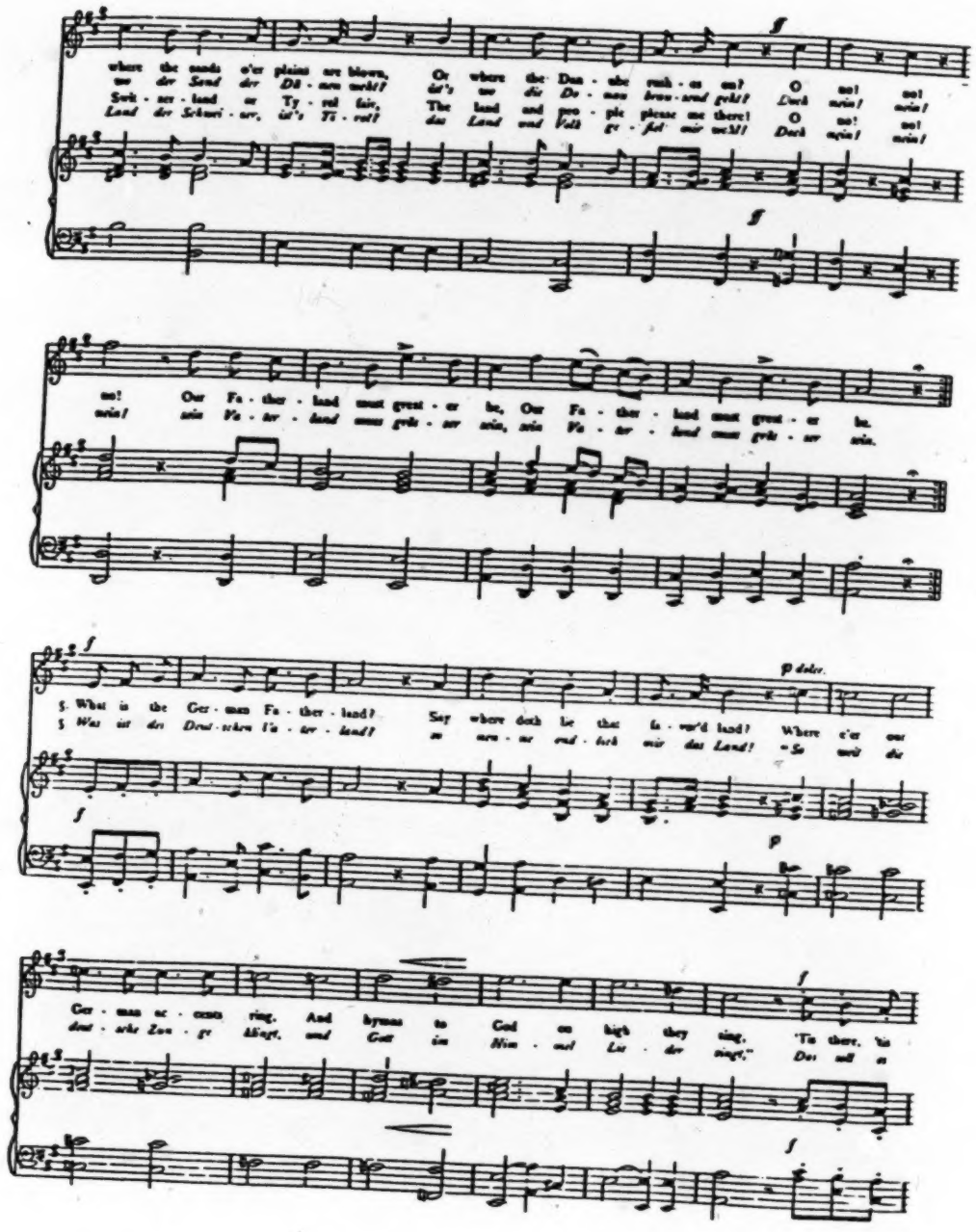
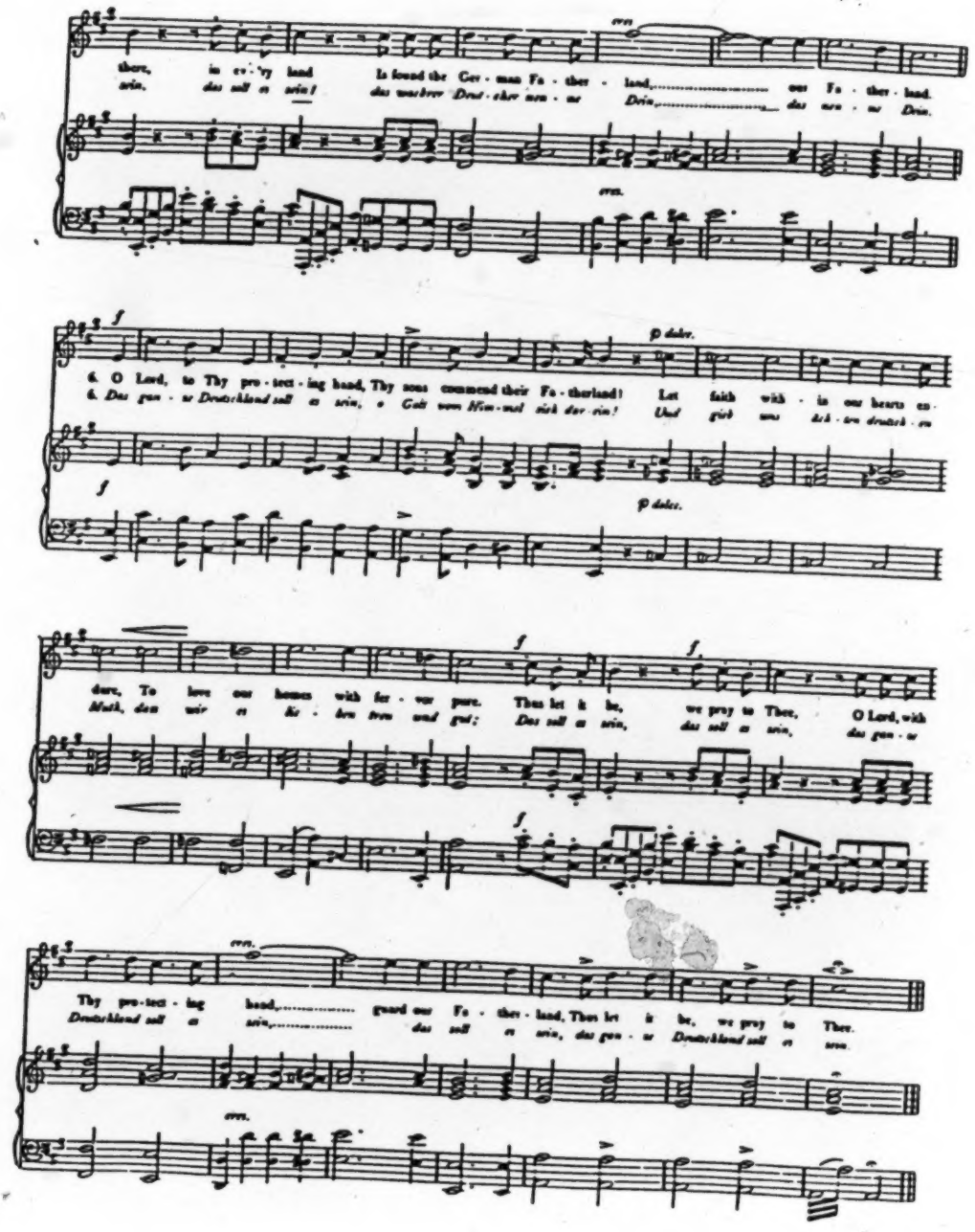
Die Fahne hoch, die Reihen fest geschlossen
SA marschiert mit ruhig festem Schritt
Kamraden, die Rotfront und Reaktion erschossen
Marschier'n im Geist in unsern Reihen mit
Kamraden, die Rotfront und Reaktion erschossen
Marschier'n im Geist in unsern Reihen mit

Die Strasse frei den braunen Bataillonen
Die Strasse frei dem Sturmabteilungsmann
Es schau'n auf's Hakenkreutz
Voll Hoffnung schon Millionen
Der Tag fur Freiheit und fur Brot bricht an
Es schau'n auf's Hakenkreutz
Voll Hoffnung schon Millionen
Der Tag fur Freiheit und fur Brot bricht an

Zum letzten Mal wird nun Appell geblasen
Zum Kampfe steh'n wir alle schon bereit
Bald flattern Hitler-fahnen uber allen Strassen
Die Knechtschaft dauert nur mehr kurze Zeit
Bald flattern Hitler-fahnen uber allen Strassen
Die Knechtschaft dauert nur mehr kurze Zeit

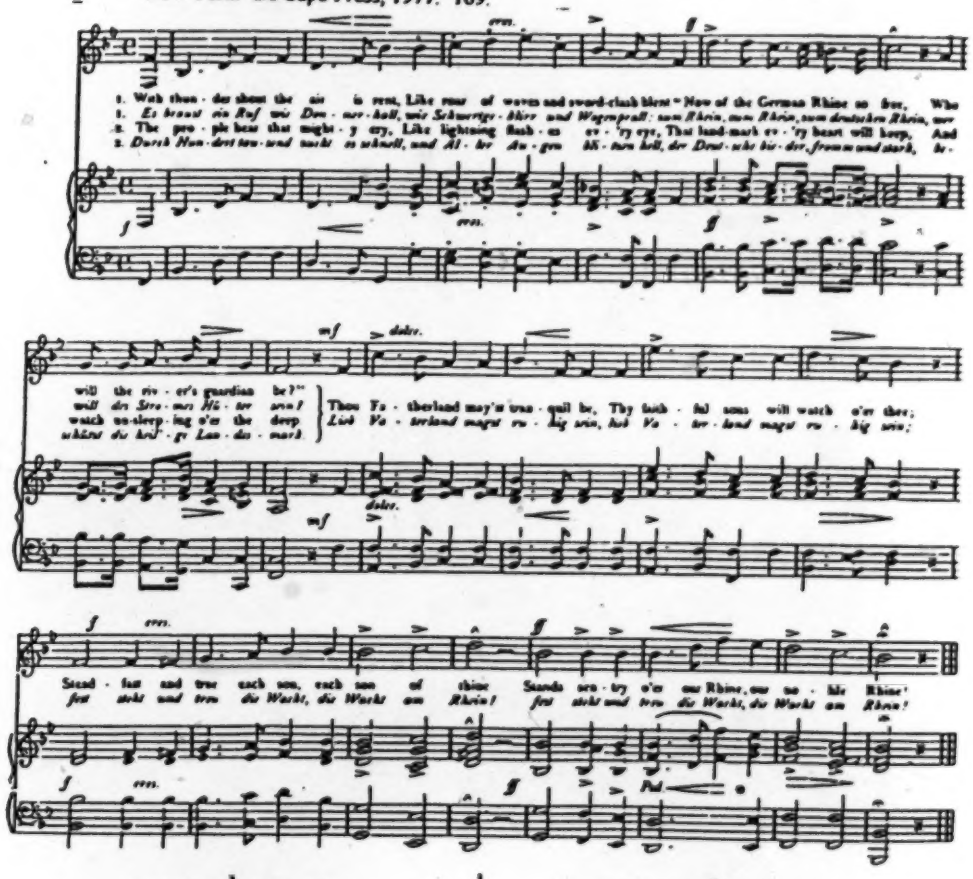
Die Fahne hoch, die Reihen fest geschlossen'
SA marschiert mit ruhig festem Schritt
Kamraden, die Rotfront und Reaktion erschossen
Marschier'n im Geist in unsern Reihen mit
Kamraden, die Rotfront und Reaktion erschossen
Marschier'n im Geist in unsern Reihen mit

Appendix C

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland? — What is the German Fatherland?
Words: Ernst Moritz Arndt (1813)
Music: Gustav Reichardt (1825)
source: National, Patriotic and Typical Airs of All Lands Edited by John Philip Sousa
New York: Da Capo Press, 1977: 110-12.

1. What is the Ger - man Fa - ther - land? Is't Prus - sian land, or Swa - bian land? Where
2. What is the Ger - man Fa - ther - land? Is't Prus - sian land, or Sty - rian land? Sure
Blooms the vine by Rhine so free? Where sun - sets shine the Bal - tic Sea? Oh no! no!
And - wie weit das O - ster - reich, So rich in hon - or and in fame. Oh no! no!
no! Our Fa - ther - land must great - er be, Our Fa - ther - land must great - er be
nein! wie Va - ter - land muss gröss - er sein, wie Va - ter - land muss gröss - er sein
3. What is the Ger - man Fa - ther - land? Pom' - ra - nian land, What - ev - er land!
4. What is the Ger - man Fa - ther - land? O say where is that migh - ty land!

where the winds o'er plains are blown,
wo der Sand der Dü - nen weht!
Or where the Dan - ube rush - es on!
wo die Do - nau brau - send geht!
O no! no!
Deutsch - land ist Ty - rol fair,
Land der Schwei - zer, ist's Ty - rol!
The land and peo - ple please me there!
das Land und Volk ge - fal - len mir wohl!
O no! no!
Deutsch - land!
Our Fa - ther - land must great - er be,
Our Fa - ther - land must great - er be.
Wa - ter - land muss gröss - er sein,
Wa - ter - land muss gröss - er sein.
What is the Ger - man Fa - ther - land?
Was ist der Deut - schen Va - ter - land?
Say where doth lie that fa - vor'd land?
wo - rin - nen sind - lich mir das Land!
Where e'er our
So weit die
Ger - man ac - cents ring,
deut - sche Zun - ge klingt,
And hymns to God on high they sing,
Gott im Him - mel Lie - der singt,
'Tis there, 'tis
Dort mit a

there, in ev'ry land Is found the Ger - man Fa - ther - land, our Fa - ther - land.
sein, das soll es sein! das wahre Deut - sche - re - ne Drin, das - se - ne Drin.
6. O Lord, to Thy pro - tect - ing hand, Thy sons commend their Fa - therland! Let faith with - in our hearts en -
6. Du gon - ne Deutschland soll es sein, o Gott vom Him - mel sieh' dar - ein! Und gieb uns dich - ten deutsch - en
dure, To love our homes with fer - vor pure. Thus let it be, we pray to Thee, O Lord, with
Muth, den wir es lie - ben treu und gut; Das soll es sein, das soll es sein, das gon - ne
Thy pro - tect - ing hand, guard our Fa - ther - land, Thus let it be, we pray to Thee.
Deutschland soll es sein, das soll es sein, das gon - ne Deutschland soll es sein.

Appendix D

Die Wacht am Rhein (The Watch over the Rhine)
Words: Max Schneckenberger (1840)
Music: C. Wilhelm (1854)
source: National, Patriotic and Typical Airs of All Lands Edited by John Philip Sousa
New York: Da Capo Press, 1977: 109.


1. Wah thou - dar sheen the air is rent, Like roar of waves and sword-clash blent? Now of the German Rhine so fair, Who
1. Es braust ein Ruf wie Don - ner-hall, wie Schwertge - klirr und Wogenprall: zum Rhein, zum Rhein, zum deutschen Rhein, wer
2. The pre - cious boon that might - y cry, Like lightning flash - es cr - 'ry eye, That hand-mark ev - 'ry heart will keep, And
2. Durch Hun - dert tau - send zuckt es schnell, und All - er Au - gen blitzt's hell, der Deut - sche bie - der, fromm und stark, be -
will the riv - er's guardian be?"
will der Strom mit Hü - ter sein!
watch un-sleep - ing o'er the deep
wächtet die kühl - er Lan - des - mark
Then Fa - therland may'st true - quil be, Thy faith - ful sons will watch o'er thee;
Lieb Va - terland magst ru - hig sein, hab Va - ter - land magst ru - hig sein;
Stead - fast and true each son, each son of thine Stands ev - 'ry o'er our Rhine, our ev - 'ry Rhine!
fest steht und treu die Wacht, die Wacht am Rhein! fest steht und treu die Wacht, die Wacht am Rhein!

3.
Thy tide reflects the heav'ns above,
And heroes gaze on thee with love,
And proudly breathe a vow to thee,
Thou, Rhine, shalt ever German be.
Then, Fatherland, &c.

4.
So long as blood flows in each vein,
Or hands to draw the sword remain,
And while an arm is in the land,
We for shall watch upon thy strand.
Then Fatherland, &c.

5.
The warn-ing echo hark the cry,
The standard in the breeze doth fly,
The Rhine, the German Rhine, so fair,
Yes, we will all thy guardians be
Then Fatherland, &c

3.
Es blickt hinauf in Himmelsau'n,
Da Helden Väter niederschau'n,
Und schwört mit stolzer Kampfeslust,
"Du Rhein bleibst deutsch wie meine Brust."
Lieb Vaterland, &c.

4.
So lang ein Tropfen Blut noch glüht,
Noch eine Faust den Degen zieht,
Und noch ein Arm die Büchse spannt,
Betritt kein Feind hier deinen Strand!
Lieb Vaterland, &c.

5.
Der Schwur ertönt, die Wege rinnt,
Die Fahne flattert hoch im Wind,
Am Rhein, am Rhein, am deutschen Rhein,
Wir alle wollen Hüter sein!
Lieb Vaterland, &c.

Carl Wilhelm, born at Schmalkalden, Sep 3, 1815, and died there Aug 26, 1873. He directed the Liedertafel at Crefeld from 1848-68. He composed the Watch am Rhein in 1854, but it was little known until the late war between France and Germany, when it suddenly became the "battle cry" of the latter. Wilhelm received an [illegible]

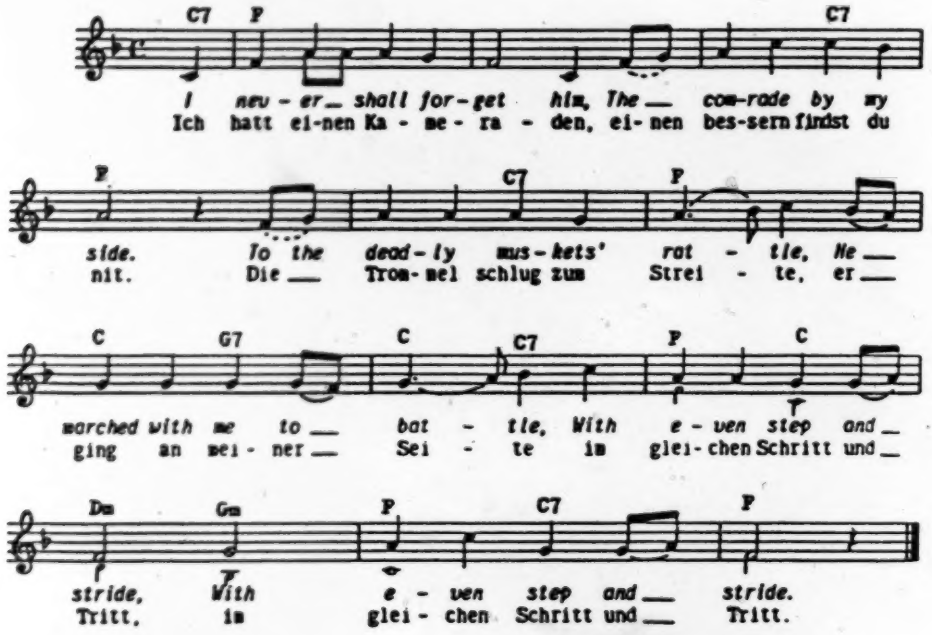
Appendix E

Ich hatt einen Kameraden I Had a Comrade

Words: Ludwig Uhland (1809) (Translation by Arthur Kevess, Aaron Kramer and Earl Robinson).

Music: Friedrich Silcher (1825)

source: German Folk Songs. Compiled and edited by Arthur Kevess. New York: Oak Publications, 1968: 49.


C7 F C7
I nev - er shall for - get him, The com-rade by my
Ich hatt ei-nen Ka - me - ra - den, ei- nen bes-sern findst du
F C7 F
side. To the dead - ly mus - kets' rat - tle, He
nit. Die Trom- mel schlug zum Strei - te, er
C G7 C C7 F C
marched with me to bat - tle, With e - ven step and
ging an mei - ner Sei - te im glei- chen Schritt und
Dm Gm F C7 F
stride, With e - ven step and stride.
Tritt, im glei - chen Schritt und Tritt.

I never shall forget him,
The comrade by my side,
To the deadly muskets' rattle
He marched with me to battle,
With even step and stride,
With even step and stride.

A bullet came from nowhere,
It found us side by side,
I heard my comrade calling,
I saw his body falling:
A part of me had died,
Yes, part of me had died.

The battle raged around us,
No time to clasp his hand:
"We shall march no more together,
May you rest in peace forever,
Farewell to you, good friend,
Farewell to you, my friend."

Ich hatt einen Kameraden,
Einen bessern findst du nit.
Die Trommel schlug zum Streite,
Er ging an meiner Seite
Im gleichen Schritt und Tritt. (2x)

Eine Kugel kam geflogen:
Gilt sie mir oder gilt sie dir?
Ihn hat es weggerissen,
Er liegt vor meinen Füssen,
Als wärs ein Stück von mir. (2x)

Will mir die Hand noch reichen,
Derweil ich eben lad:
Kann dir die Hand nicht geben,
Bleib du im ew'gen Leben,
Mein guter Kamerad!" (2x)